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IT will be difficult perhaps to find, in any Age, and in any Nation, a History which abounds with scenes of more variety and intrigue, or with events that are more interesting than are to be met with here. But of the Work itself I shall say no more, than that it is full of such enterprizes, as will afford an instructive, and a much unheeded Lesson to Mankind. It will instruct PRINCES, to consult the Interest and Inclinations of their Subjects, and not to govern by illegal and despotic Power. It will instruct the MINISTERS of Princes that their own Passions, Faction, and Ill-humour, will produce as much Mischief to the Public Peace, and the Security of their Master as the most open Villainy. It will instruct the PEOPLE, not to suffer and assist the Folly, the Forwardness, the Pride, and Ambition of particular persons, to govern the Public Understanding, and the venom of Private Interest to be mingled with the Public Good. There will appear to have been the means which Providence permitted, to infatuate a people ripe and prepared for their destruction: and by suffering the weak to contribute to the ill designs of the Wicked, and the Wicked to be more wicked than they first intended, such a Scene of horror and desolation followed, as is scarcely to be equalled in any Country.

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OF
IRELAND;

FROM THE
Earliest Authentic Accounts,
to the Year 1171:

SINCE
Which Period it has been annexed
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WITH A
PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION
on the Antient and Present State and Condi-
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THE
HISTORY
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IRELAND.

BOOK VI.

THE obscure age of the Irish history, which we have just concluded, it is to be hoped, hath been rescued from that national contempt which we in this country have hitherto entertained of it : and if it is not enlivened with as many important interesting events as that of some other ancient nations, yet perhaps it affords as much political instruction to a free people in the use of liberty, as we can meet with any where else ; and, which ought moreover to recommend it to us, it is the history of a country which is now annexed to the British empire. The third age of the Irish, which we are now to enter upon, I have called “ the Enlightened ” ; because the facts of history are better authenticated, and the dates of the events are more accurately ascertained, than in the age preceding. Even those who criticise their antiquities with the most severity, allow a credit is to be given to their historical accounts from their conversion to Christianity : and it would be no stretch of candour, in my opinion, to say further, that the colouring

LOGARY II.
A. D. 428.

Vol. II. B of

of history is then too strongly laid, to admit of the least doubt of their having letters and arts in no mean degree antecedent to that period.

The reader must not however imagine, that, because I have called this the enlightened age, he is to be entertained with those events which alone make history edifying and important : it is rather in general more barren of those facts which best reward the labours of an historian, than the age before it. For though Christianity opened a new scene in Ireland, and the lustre of history shines brighter as it descends into more particulars, yet a bad taste for writing prevailed at that time all over Europe : and though the materials for history were probably very plentiful, yet the great waste made by the Danes at first, and afterwards by the English, in the annals and archives of Ireland on political motives, hath left us little enough of this period, which may be deemed important or entertaining. Nor is the reader to imagine that there are no fables now, notwithstanding the acknowledged authenticity of the history, either to shake its credit—if those should shake it—or to puzzle the historian, and encrease his labour. The fables here are as numerous and as improbable, but less entertaining than those in the age preceding. They were written by Monks in cells and cloisters : men of a different stamp and genius from the ancient Bards, and they had a different cause to support ; not the cause of heroes engaged in war, but the cause of saints advancing piety with a mixture of superstition, and a pretended power of working miracles. But let us now enter upon the history.

MR.
KEAT-
ING.
O FLA-
HER.
Dissertat.

As soon as an account was brought to Ireland of the death of DATHY near the Alps, LAOGARY the son of the great hero NIALl was elected Monarch. Though the reader has heard nothing of any at-
tempts

tempts towards learning or propagating Christianity ^{WARE.} before this Prince's reign, yet it must not be con-^{CAM-}cluded, that it had not found its way into this ^{DEN.} island. The theological Doctrine, which the phi-^{USHER.}losophic genius and the retirement of CORMAC had ^{COM-}led him to discover, though he did not live long ^{ERF.} enough to get it established, yet had paved the ^{HARRIS.} way to a free enquiry among all thinking men. The mind being once at liberty under its own direction, and no longer fettered or hood-winked by authority, formed a system for itself: and under this private system every one sat quiet, until the time should come, that the bulk of the people might be safely taught by slow degrees to see their error and to forsake it.

The great power of the Druids, and the implicit subjection under which they held the people, were shaken so much by CORMAC, that from the time of his death they were merely permitted to perform the functions of religion, as ministers, not as dictators; and even their former character was without the reverence which had till then been annexed to it. The Pagan religion in Ireland having but little hold left on the minds of men, they were open almost to any impressions that other systems might make: and many of their philosophers, who did not chuse to interrupt the public tranquillity by opposing the established doctrines, and yet could not content themselves with living under them and enjoying privately their own opinions, forsook their country for those regions in which Christianity was professed. Several of these went to Rome, became the disciples of St. PETER, and were afterwards ordained and promoted to dignities in foreign churches. Many remained at home, and with letters and humanity taught the doctrines of the Gospel in obscure secluded places.

It is probable that a reformation would sooner have become more public and general by those means than it did, if the attention of the nation had not been drawn off from subjects of this nature by the foreign wars, which CRIMTHAN and his successors engaged them in. The celebrated CATHILL, toward the end of the second century, we are told by several foreign writers cited by USHER [a], was Archbishop of RACHAU, in the province of Munster, and that he converted the province to the Faith of CHRIST, with the assistance of twelve suffragan Bishops, whom he ordained. It must be owned that the Irish histories say nothing of such an event; and notwithstanding the many authorities cited by the Primate for it, one cannot help suspecting that there must be some mistake. The mistake indeed, I believe, is not in the fact, but in the date; and the writers which the Primate cites are much divided in their opinions about the time in which CATHILL lived.

There is no doubt however to be made, that several of the learned Irish had received the Christian Faith before the reign of the present Monarch, who made a great figure abroad in the highest stations of the Church; and it seems agreed among all the Irish writers, that, before PATRICK or PALLADIUS, there were four Bishops in Ireland, who preached the gospel and made many converts to CHRIST. These are canonized by their biographers under the names of S. ALBE, S. DECLAN, S. IBER, and S. KIRIAN. Before these, it is reported in the life of the former, that one CHRISTIANUS a Priest, was sent hither from Rome many years before S. PATRICK, in order to plant the Christian faith among the Gentile Irish. What these old writers meant by the epithet of BISHOP, it is not a easy

[a] De Brit. Eccl. Primord. p. 751—60.

thing to determine. But it does not appear to me, that they had precisely the same idea of that character, which in latter ages hath been affixed to it; for it is certain that their Bishops had not the same extended power and jurisdiction which more modern times have given them. Be this however as it may.—To the four Bishops above-mentioned, the writers of their lives have attributed many excellencies and virtues, great diligence and travel; and had they attributed nothing else, they would probably find credit to what they have written. But according to the humour of those times, such good men as these must have an extraordinary interest in heaven; and many miracles which required the power of heaven are attributed to them.

In the third year of the reign of LOGARY, PALLADIUS was sent from Rome by Pope CELESTINE, “to the Irish believing in CHRIST.” Our own historians, as well as theirs, and many foreign authors, agree in this event; and they call him the first Bishop that was thus sent. Hence a question hath arisen, how PALLADIUS could be called the first Bishop that was sent, if we admit that the Irish had received the Christian Faith before his time from the four Bishops above-mentioned. In answer to this it hath been observed, that in the first primitive Church the office of Bishops and Priests, and their names, were common; but in the second they both began to be distinguished. BALE informs us, that he was sent by CELESTINE to institute the order of Priests after the Roman manner; because, before this time, the Irish had their own Bishops and Ministers, elected according to sacred writ by the suffrages of the people, as they had been among the Britons; but this did not please the Romans. USHER, who gives us this account, was himself inclined to believe, that

as the four Bishops were in Ireland before the mission of PALLADIUS, or the pontificate of CELESTINE, that this epithet means only the first Bishop sent by that Pope who sent PATRICK after; or else that he was appointed to the first see in point of dignity; as, although they had other Bishops, PALLADIUS was the first Archbishop, and PATRICK the second, to whom the others should submit. The first of the Primate's explanations is natural, the other seems forced, if not absurd; but the reader may take which of all he likes the best; for as the question is not important, the solution is immaterial.

The Pope having been informed of the Pagan state of Ireland, by such of the learned natives as had repaired to Rome for erudition, sent PALLADIUS with twelve assistants to preach the gospel to the Irish. In a short time after their arrival, which was in the province of Leinster, the Bishop found means to erect three churches for Christian worship, which he consecrated. But for want of skill in the language, or for want of spirit to withstand the brutal fierceness of some Pagan chiefs, the mission of this ecclesiastick had little other success. As he and his coadjutors were endeavouring to make proselytes, and to spread their doctrine, they were violently attacked by one of the sons of a Pagan prince, a furious zealot, who had the principal command in that part of the country; and such a powerful opposition, where they were without friends or acquaintance, obliged them in a short time to give up their design, and to quit the island in order to save their lives. The Bishop however did not live to return to Rome; but died in his journey among the Picts, in the first year of his mission. Little more is said of the other Bishops, the natives of the country who were here before, than that they confined their labours to particular places; in which,

which, though their success was not inconsiderable, yet they were very far from converting the generality of the people. This great work was reserved for S. PATRICK, called from hence the great Apostle of the Irish; though not the first, as the reader sees, who introduced among them the Christian Faith.

It has already been related in the reign of NIALL, that PATRICK was born in Britain; and it was in that part which is now comprehended in Scotland, called after him Kirk Patrick. He was the son of a deacon and the grandson of a priest; which evidently proves that the clergy were not restrained from matrimony in those early ages of the church. In his sixteenth year, as it hath been said, he was taken captive in Armorica, where his whole family were on a visit to some of the relations of his mother. When he was brought into Ireland and sold for a slave, his business was constantly to attend and feed the hogs. In this captivity, and in this servile employment, he continued till the seventh year, which according to the law in that respect he was discharged. When he had been at home with his parents about two years, he was surprized, he says in the account he gives of himself, one night in a dream, with a man coming to him as from Ireland with a great number of letters; in one of which he saw these words, "The voice of the Irish," and in the same moment he thought he heard the inhabitants near the Western sea crying out to him with one voice, "We intreat thee, holy youth, to come and walk among us"; with the noise of which he awoke. From this time, says the history of his life, he formed the resolution of converting the Irish to Christianity; and immediately went abroad into foreign parts to enrich his mind with knowledge and learning.

But

But if PATRICK really formed such a resolution at this time, it is plain he was not in haste to put it in execution ; for besides thirty-five years that he spent in his studies with his uncle a Bishop of Tours, who ordained him Deacon, and after his death with Bishop GERMANUS who ordained him priest, he was for some time at Rome among the canons of the Lateran church, as well as with a colony of Monks in some islands in the Tuscan sea. Upon the whole, it was no less than eight and thirty years after the dream he mentions, that St. PATRICK returned to Ireland, in order to convert it from its Pagan state. Let the reader judge therefore, whether this return was owing to the compassion which he was touched with at their ignorance when he was in captivity, and that this impulse to convert them was heightened by his dream. It is differing from all the writers on this subject to say otherwise ; but yet I must confess that I presume to differ from them, and to assert that he probably thought no more of Ireland, after he once began his travels, till the time that he went to Rome to be consecrated for his mission. But if the occasion of this mission was the impulse we are told of in his youth about forty years before, we may observe what great events are sometimes owing to trifling incidents ; and that, the designs of providence are brought about by means, which in the eye of human wisdom are of no consideration.

Whether PATRICK had been informed of the ill success and death of PALLADIUS at that time, and whether GERMANUS advised him to resume his former design of converting the Irish—as the writers of his life assure us—it may be as difficult perhaps for us to know, as it is by whom he was consecrated a Bishop, which they are not at all agreed in. At Rome however it is probable that he received his consecration ; and from thence, it is said,

said, that he brought with him twenty disciples or assistants that were eminent for their piety and learning. With these he arrived in Cornwall; and preaching there for a few days—and as some say in Wales—he encreased his attendants to the number of thirty four; with whom he passed over safely into Ireland in the sixtieth year of his age, and landed in the port of Wicklow. The first fruits of the Prelate's ministry, which he soon began, we are told, after his landing, being well skilled in the Irish language, was the conversion and baptism of SINELL, a chief of that country, and the eighth in lineal descent from the Monarch CORMAC. The report of this conversion was soon brought to NATHI, the Pagan prince who had driven away PALLADIUS; and he was not wanting in his opposition to Bishop PATRICK: but the Bishop stood his ground 'till a strong party of Pagans—excited probably by the Prince—attacked him and his company, and drove them back again to their ship.

Having more courage and resolution however than his predecessor, he did no shrink from his undertaking. From this place therefore he sailed to an island on the coast of the county of Dublin—called “Holm Patrick” from him at this day—where he rested with his attendants a little time, and thence went into that part of the province of Ulster, which is called Ullagh, in the counties of Down and Antrim. So large a company landing from one Ship, and all of them being foreigners, alarmed the inhabitants, who immediately pronounced them pirates. Intelligence of this being brought to DICHU, a chief in that country, he raised a body of forces with all possible expedition, in order to destroy or drive them away from the coast. But finding them unarmed, and being struck with the venerable appearance of the Bishop

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and some of his friends, his indignation was turned into curiosity; and he desired to know the errand on which they came. As soon as the Prelate had informed him of his great design, and had DICHU's leave to explain the nature and principles of Christianity, he preached the gospel in such a forcible and zealous manner, that the Chief and all his family were in a short time converted and baptized. Nor was this all; for the land upon which his conversion was wrought he dedicated to God, where as soon as he could he built a church.

It is not the business of this history to follow Bishop PATRICK in all his perambulations about the island to propagate the Christian faith. The particulars relating to him so far, it is hoped, will not be thought improper; as he was so extraordinary a man in himself, and one to whom Ireland owes such infinite obligations: but a more general account of his conduct will now be given. The reader is therefore to suppose, that this great apostle and his coadjutors were continually employed in some places or other in their great design; and their success was answerable to their zeal. The historians of Ireland, as well as the numerous writers of his life, all agree that PATRICK had retained a perfect skill in the Irish language from the time of his captivity; and to that in some measure attribute his extraordinary success. That he might have some faint remembrance of a language which he had once learnt in his youth, and might recover it again with more ease than an entire stranger could acquire it, may be allowed to be very probable: but if we consider the low station in which he served in his captivity, that he was twenty two years of age when he left Ireland, that he had no communication at all with that country afterward 'till his return upon this mission, and that between this there was a space of eight and thirty years,

years, his skill in the Irish language at his first landing on his mission, may in my opinion be justly doubted, if not denied. It will appear too perhaps more probable to the reader, that his associates were many of them native Irish, at that time at Rome upon their studies; who could therefore interpret as well as preach for him, 'till he had recovered his acquaintance with the country language. But to whatever reasons they owed their success, an amazing success they had.

In the second year of their mission, and when the assembly at Tara was convened, the Bishop and two of his disciples came into that neighbourhood; rightly judging, that if they could make an impression here, upon the Monarch, the provincial Princes, the nobles and their retinue, it would make their work more easy over all the rest of the kingdom. Before this convention therefore they appeared and preached; and by the blessing of God upon their endeavours, and the influence and example of the Queen and some others of the court, a great number became Christians and were baptized. LOGARY the Monarch held out for some time with great zeal and firmness: but his curiosity being excited, by so many principal persons who had been converted, to be more particularly instructed in the new religion, he declared himself at length a Christian; and his example was followed by multitudes of his subjects. The legendary writers who dress up tales, and the historians who deal in miracles, have multiplied them exceedingly upon this occasion. But whether the miracles themselves may not admit of some dispute, or whether the historians who lived not till long after, might not have been imposed upon, as in the case of miracles we know they almost always were, I shall not determine; neither shall I trouble the reader with any account of them: They
are

are too strange and numerous, and the tales are too absurd, to find a place in this work which aims at truth, and at instruction.

The Irish were by this time in so much haste to embrace the Gospel, that, if the Bishop himself is not mistaken, several thousands were baptized by him and his followers in one day. But how great a progress soever the missionaries had made whilst they were in Ireland, for they all concurred in the undertaking, and PATRICK alone had not all the labour, though all the merit is given to him; yet it was nothing in comparison of what still remained to be done. They therefore applied themselves with the utmost assiduity, to preaching, converting and planting Churches wherever they came; and with unparalleled success. So rapid a progress was not perhaps known in any other land. The people, says an historian, embraced the doctrines of Christianity with a spiritual sort of violence: and if it is true, as no doubt it is, that those doctrines met with the least opposition from the learned nations, this great success of the faith of CHRIST in Ireland will appear the less to be wondered at. The Bishop and his disciples addressed themselves every where to the Princes and great men in the first place, for this reason; as well as for another that has been mentioned, that the populace would easily be induced to follow their leaders. It must be observed however, that several years were thus employed in converting the people and founding Churches, before any episcopal sees or ecclesiastical discipline was established.

Whilst Ireland was thus advancing in knowledge and learning and true religion, her arms were extending her military renown abroad. This renown however consisted in their successful ravages of countries, on whom they had no other claim than what they founded in superior
pow-

power: and when they had enriched themselves with plunder, they returned home with captives to grace their triumph and to make use of as slaves in their most servile occupations. Thus LOGARY considering the practice of his predecessors, and being probably moved with the same desire of spoil and glory, transported his army into Britain; where being joined by their allies and tributaries the Picts, they began their hostilities with greater confidence than ever: and that they might make irruptions upon the enemy at their pleasure, they attacked the wall of SEVERUS, which, being weakly defended by the Britons, was broke down in many places. A tribute and a treaty were the consequence of this victory; and the Britons being in a low and weak condition, pretences were not wanting in a short time after to renew the war. The same sort of ravages without any right on one side, and the same sort of misery without incurring it justly on the other, continued more or less for several years, till the calling in of the Saxons, which put an end to those invasions of the Picts and Irish. It must be observed that these invasions of kingdom against kingdom, merely for the sake of plunder and of dominion without any just cause of war, were the vices of the age, and not of the people of whom I am writing: and all the great actions of the ancient nations, which have filled the world with so much glory, were nothing else but valourous and successful piracies. Even the renowned Greeks and Romans, who in their great politeness have been pleased to style all other nations barbarous, were as much renowned for these unjust and barbarous depredations as for their arts and learning—but I turn again to the history.

The people of Ireland were at this time so much A. D.
engaged in their conversions, and in erecting and 443.
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endowing Churches, with the other circumstances that an introduction of Christianity had made necessary, that little else being attended to, we find but little else recorded. About ten years after the arrival of PATRICK, he founded a Church and a Bishop's See at Clogher, which he for some time governed himself, and then surrendered to MAC CURTIN, his old companion in Italy before he came with him on this mission; and he is reckoned the first Bishop of that See. In about two years after he removed to Ardmagh, the land of that territory having been given him by DAIRE the proprietor of it: and there he laid out a city of large extent, and in a beautiful situation; in which he built a Cathedral, Monasteries, and Churches, drew inhabitants to it of all sorts; established schools and seminaries of education; and determined upon making it the metropolitical See of Ireland. At this time it was probably that he surrendered Clogher to his coadjutor above mentioned. But as the labours of his mission met with such success, that he had not hands sufficient to carry on the work, he passed over into Britain in order to procure more assistance. Here he found several, eminent for their piety and learning, whom he consecrated Bishops, to the number of thirty, and brought back with him into Ireland.

A. D. 448. Strengthened with this assistance, and the religion of Ireland having acquired the face of a Christian Church, in the year after his return PATRICK visited his See of Ardmagh; where in conjunction with his associates he held a Synod; the canons of which have been published by WARE among the works ascribed to this prelate, from the British councils by SPELMAN. Having broke up this Synod, he went into that part of Leinster which was still unconverted, and which is now called

called Dublin, from the black and boggy bottom of the river. The people, though untaught, were not unacquainted with the fame of Patrick: and they flocked out in great multitudes to bid him welcome. His usual success attended him with the Prince and people of this territory; whom he baptized in a fountain in the southern part of it, called afterwards St. PATRICK's well, and which in USHER's time was open. Near this fountain he built a Church; on the foundation of which, the best Cathedral in the kingdom hath been since erected, which still bears his name.

When he had preached and propagated the faith and settled Bishops throughout the province, the next care of this Apostle was to visit Munster; which he had hitherto neglected, not without good reason. I will explain what I mean. The name of ALBE, of DECLAN, of IBAR, and of KIRIAN, have been already mentioned in the beginning of this book; as Irish Bishops promulging the Christian doctrine before the coming of PATRICK or PALLADIUS. But they had confined their labours entirely to the province of Munster, their native country, in which they lived; where, as their preaching and instructions were mostly private, their success was not extended very far. It was however so considerable and every day encreasing, that PATRICK thought he might leave that province to them, and make it the last care of his mission. Therefore the other parts of the island being generally then brought into the pale of the Christian Church, he turned his labours to that province, that he might compleat the work of his predecessors. His predecessors afraid perhaps, of the higher powers, or not having so much judgment as this Apostle, in the conduct of their undertaking, had neglected to apply themselves, as he always did, to the Kings and Nobles of the
pro-

province first. The sequel will justify what I say.

As soon as PATRICK was arrived in the neighbourhood of Cashell, preaching the Christian Doctrine with great boldness, ANGUS the King of Munster, hearing of his fame, went out to meet him with great alacrity, and respectfully conducted him to his palace. The conversion of the King and all the chief men of the province, was the immediate consequence of his preaching; and the consequence of their conversion was a visit from the four Bishops to the King and PATRICK; where they all assisted at a synod in drawing up constitutions for the government of the Church. Of the particulars of this synod we have no other remains than that Emly was erected into the archiepiscopal See of Munster; for ALBE, and the other three Bishops had dioceses appropriated to them in that province. But it was not without difficulty, and some hazard of the Church's peace in this infant state of it, that the four Bishops who were here, and ordained at Rome before PATRICK, or before the popedom of CELESTINE, could be brought to submit to his authority as their Primate. However, for the sake of union, and out of regard to the great labour and the great success of PATRICK, at last, and with reluctance, they were prevailed upon to acquiesce; but rather as the Patron, it must be observed, than as the Primate of the Island.

Indeed it does not appear from any monuments of antiquity, manuscript or printed, that the See of Rome pretended to exercise any spiritual or temporal jurisdiction at this time in Ireland; or that PATRICK had any powers or ensigns of a Primate conferred upon him by the Pope or by any other person. Neither was it till seven hundred

dred years after this that EUGENIUS transmitted by his legate PAPIRON, four palls to Ireland, whither a pall had never before been brought. S. BERNARD, an incontestable evidence in this case, confirms this assertion in the annals of Mailrofs; who says, that from the very beginning to his own time, the metropolitical See of Ardماغ wanted the use of the pall. Very justly therefore might CAMBRENSIS say, "that tho' PATRICK chose Ardماغ for his seat, and appointed it to be as it were a metropolitical see, and the proper place of the primacy of all Ireland, yet there were no Archbishops there; but Bishops only consecrated one another till JOHN PAPIRO, the Pope's legate, brought four palls thither."

In no part of the Irish history, or in PATRICK's life, written by several, except JOCELINE; a fabulous Monk, are there any traces of a power given to this Ecclesiastic, either as a Primate, or Archbishop. On the other hand, indeed, the Chronicles take notice, that GELASIUS, then in the see of Ardماغ, seven hundred years after him, "was the first Archbishop, because he used the first pall; and that others before him were called Archbishops and Primates in name only, for the reverence of S. PATRICK as the apostle of the nation." In short they erected Bishopricks, and Archbishopricks too, according as they thought fit; as we may conclude from PATRICK's erecting his own See of Ardماغ into a metropolitan; and he, with ANGUS, and the other Bishops, making Emly the Archbishoprick for the province of Munster.

In like manner, we are told, that the King of Leinster with the consent as well of the laity as of the clergy, appointed that in the city of Fernes should be the archbishoprick of all the province of Leinster, and even in the time of BERNARD, so late as in the twelfth century, he has said that

"**CELSUS** the Archbishop of Ardmagh, had of the new constituted another metropolitical See; but subject to the first and to the Archbishop thereof." May we not therefore fairly conclude from hence, that all these things being done at home among themselves without consulting with the Popes, the Irish considered them as Bishops only of a particular diocese, or at most but as Patriarchs, on whom their own Church had no dependance in the least? I think we may. Nay they were so far from acknowledging the Pope's authority, that they did not so much as know that his holiness pretended to have any authority over them: nor did those prelates in fact aspire to the exorbitant power claimed afterwards by their successors in **S. PETER'S** chair.

A. D. Bishop **PATRICK** having remained seven years
455. in Munster, in preaching, baptizing, planting Churches and other requisites of his mission, took his final leave of this province in the year four hundred and fifty-five, and returned again into Leinster. During his abode in this country, not thinking it inconsistent with his duty as a missionary, he gave his advice and assistance in the reformation of the government, as far as the genius of the nation would permit; and he went no further. His business as a politician consisted in correcting the abuse of liberty: and the Princes considering him as a very able man as well as a good one, the friend and patron as well as the apostle of the Irish nation, they admitted him to sit in the assemblies of the state, and paid great deference to his judgment. At his request, it is said, that **LOGARY** summoned a convention of the chiefs, historians, and antiquaries of the kingdom; in order to purge their records and histories of their corrupt connexions with their old religion. Before this convention they were all produced;
and

and a committee of nine being appointed to reform them, three Kings, three prelates, and three antiquaries, their amendments were drawn up, and being approved of by the whole assembly, were disposed into the public archives, as an authentic collection for future ages to have recourse to, and to which was given the name of "the Great Antiquity." Many copies were taken of this venerable code of records and history; and by general consent committed to the care of their Bishops, to be deposited in the churches for the benefit of posterity. To the multitude of these copies it was owing, that they were not all destroyed in the ravages of the Danes and English: and that some fragments are still in the hands of the curious at this day. Of these are the book of Ardmagh, the Psalter of Cashel, the book of Glendaloch, the Lebharr Gabala, and several others which KEATING mentions, and from which he drew great assistance in compiling the history of that kingdom.

Besides the convention above mentioned for the amendment of their records and histories, LOGARY summoned the great assembly at Tara, according to the custom of his ancestors; where these amendments were transcribed also into the royal Psalter, and where the laws that were connected with their Pagan superstition underwent the same purgation with their records; and new statutes were added in conformity to the religion which they had then embraced. This body of laws was also deposited in the royal palace, to be consulted upon all occasions as an unerring standard of justice, between man and man, and for the right administration of the state against all offenders. But it must be observed, that the sudden change to the Christian religion made no great change in the constitution of the Irish government, though in the execution of this system it

wrought a great one; because it taught men how to govern, and how to obey, from purer principles of conduct, as well as from much stronger and sublimer motives, the rewards of virtue in a future state.

As the Pagan ecclesiasticks were admitted to a share in the Legislature, it is no wonder that this custom should be continued under the Christian government: but their power, says an historian [b], never amounted to any thing near that clerical tyranny and unexampled prostitution so much complained of in these later times. If ever they attempted to get a share of power in Ireland incompatible with liberty, they certainly failed in the acquisition. They kept themselves, or they were kept, within their proper ecclesiastical departments; nor would this knowing and free people admit them to be the trampers on the civil power. But where Gospel authority alone is exercised, little is to be feared from the Clergy: they do the state the greatest service, and they merit the highest reverence from it. This was the case in Ireland; and that the spiritual had no collision with the civil power, we are assured not only by our native historians but by the consent of foreign writers; who celebrate particularly the ancient Irish for the retention of their religion, upon the true principles and firm foundation of primitive Christianity."

During the six years that PATRICK remained in the province of Leinster, after his return to it from his progress over the other parts of the island, he made frequent excursions to the northern bounds of Ulster, converting the few who still remained in their heathen state, and confirming those in the Christian Faith who had before embraced it: and then it was, that church-

es and monasteries being every where erected, he is said to have laid out the whole kingdom into divisions, decimating the people, the lands, and the cattle, and taking the tenth part of the whole for the use of the church. The men were ordained into some religious order, and the women were settled in convents and nunneries separated for their use, with a sufficient revenue from the tenth share of the land for their support. In short, it is related, that by the care and good management of this great apostle, there was not any part of the kingdom, that did not abound with religious persons; and a provision was made for their education and subsistence.

It is even said by some writers, that he founded three hundred and sixty-five churches, ordained as many Bishops and three thousand priests. On this passage Bishop LLOYD [c] observes very justly, "that the writers of those times, when they were set upon the pin of multiplying, made the numbers of things as many as the days of the year: but the true meaning perhaps might be, that besides the Bishops he brought with him from Rome, and afterwards from Britain, he ordained as many suffragans as there were rural deanries, in each of which taking one with another there were eight or nine parish priests: and if he would so far consult the ease of the Bishops and the convenience of the people, he might do it without altering the species of church government, which was the same then in Ireland as it was at that time in the churches of the Roman Empire." Be this however as it might, we are told that when the primate returned to Leinster, he relinquished the see of Ardmagh, and appointed BINEN or BENIGNUS for his successor.

[c] Church Government, p. 92.

It is very surprising that no reason whatever should be assigned by any historian for such an extraordinary step, and that no other particulars should be handed down relating to it. It does not appear that he resigned the primacy — if in truth he was ever possessed of any regular primacy, which I much suspect — though he relinquished the see, which he had designed and called the metropolitan. In this case therefore we are left to our own conjecture from the genius of the times and the principal features in the character of the man : and from hence it seems to me, that as he had not a passion for money or for power to gratify, and being fully bent to lay out the remainder of his life in the great ends of his mission, he would not be confined to any particular designation, but his province should be at large, and the state of the church in Ardmagh, being yet in its infancy, should not be destitute of a pastor ; or he might perhaps intend at that time to take the journey to Rome, which in six years afterwards he went ; and he would not leave the island without a metropolitan, nor his diocese without a Bishop, lest his return might be uncertain, or never happen. Whatever were his motives, he consecrated BENIGNUS Archbishop of Ardmagh, and continually employing himself in Leinster and the North parts of Ulster in the duties of his mission, at the end of six years he left the island and went to Rome.

Whether it was before, or after, this journey it is not said, but the old chronicles relate, that he consecrated the Archbishop of Cashel to have authority over that division of the island which was called Leath Mogha — mentioned in the reign of CONN — but in obedience and subjection to the Primate and Metropolitan : and the reason which they assign for this partition, is, that the monarchy of the kingdom was then in possession of the Heremonian

monian line; many branches of which of great rank and power had been converted to Christianity and received baptism at the hands of PATRICK; And therefore they insisted that the metropolitical church should be in their division in Leath Conn; the superior rights and dignities of which should be equally extensive with their temporal power. For the same reason, it is said, that ANGUS the King of Munster, and the other descendents of the Heberian line, procured the second see in authority and jurisdiction to be in their division, of which they had the command under the successive Monarchs of the kingdom, and so an Archbishoprick was ordained at Cashell. But this I apprehend to be confounded with the appointment of ALBA before mentioned as Archbishop of Emly for the province of Munster; which is but three miles from Cashell, and was afterwards sunk into, or united to that see: and accordingly we find some of the ancient records speak of the Archbishop of Cashell, under the style and title of the Archbishop of Munster.—But to return to the history.

The Boromean tribute, exacted by the Monarch TUATHAL from the province of Leinster, though it was rather the effect of rage and revenge than an act of justice, yet had received a solemn sanction from the legislature, and continued to the time of which I am writing. One would have expected that the doctrines of the gospel, which they had now embraced, should have purified their hearts and given them better notions. But few Princes act from principle; especially when principle and their interest are inconsistent. To this it may be added in excuse of LOGARY, that this customary tribute had continued so many ages, that it was converted into a sort of right by prescription. Whether the Monarch thought of it in this manner or not, or whether he thought at all

about the nature of the act, it is certain that he made a demand of the usual tribute : and it seems as certain that CRIMTHAN, at that time King of Leinster, from the light which he had acquired by the Christian doctrine, was convinced of the iniquity of such an exaction ; and that it was a flagrant instance of tyrannical power, rather more iniquitous under a Christian than a Pagan government. For this reason, when the Irish Monarch made a demand of the wonted tribute, the King of Leinster would not permit it to be levied in his province ; and both sides prepared for battle. The provincial forces of Leinster were fighting their own cause, in defence of their property which was attacked with great injustice ; but the army of the Monarch were not concerned in his success. They lost none of their rights and liberties, if they were vanquished ; and they acquired nothing but the empty glory of defeating their own countrymen, if they proved victorious. Under these circumstances the two armies met and engaged ; when the Monarch's forces were routed with a terrible slaughter, and he himself was taken prisoner.

The King of Leinster, having got him thus within his power, was determined to free his province from this tyrannical imposition at least during the rest of LOGARY's reign : and therefore the only condition of the Monarch's liberty insisted on by CRIMTHAN, was a solemn oath never to ask for the Boromean tribute as long as he lived. The King, rather than remain in captivity all his life, submitted to this condition ; and bound himself by the strictest oaths and imprecations to release the province of Leinster from this unjust demand. But in defiance of this obligation, he was no-sooner set at liberty and in a capacity to revenge his imprisonment upon CRIMTHAN, than he carried fire and

and sword into his province; pretending that his engagements were extorted from him by violence. But the vengeance of heaven, says the historian, ever attending on the guilt of perjury, would not be eluded by such evasions; and as a proper example to Kings that they should not trifle with oaths and treaties, he was struck dead with lightning. This was the way of reasoning among the Monkish writers, who dealt in fiction and surprize; and who never wanted a miracle to avenge them of their enemies, or to carry on any righteous purpose.

But there is great reason to be convinced, that all the pretended miracles which are said to be employed by PATRICK and his associates in the conversion of these people, were not only in general and for the greatest part, but universally and entirely the effects of fraud and of imposture. For it must be observed that this conversion happened at a time when learning was but low; and when a general credulity and want of knowledge, gave opportunity to the ecclesiasticks of coining their fables and obtruding them upon the world for facts: such fallacies being common in those days among good men, when the end of them was to promote the Christian interest. A man who is conversant in the history of these primitive ages must be wilfully blind not to see this, and abominably partial not to own it. "But nothing is more subject to delusion than piety, which takes for sacred all her imaginations of what sort soever: and the best intention in the world is not enough to keep it in that respect free from irregularity."

If it was thought necessary to bring an immediate judgment from heaven for the punishment of the Monarch's perjury, it was likewise suggested by the zeal of the Monkish writers, that they should cover the honour of Christianity from the stain of so foul a crime; and therefore having assured us
that

that LOGARY was converted to the faith of CHRIST by PATRICK, it is asserted by some of them that he apostatized, and that his oath was, as a Pagan, by the sun and planets and stars of heaven. They did not consider, or perhaps they did not understand, that Christianity is not accountable for the wicked lives of its professors; and though the judgment is enlightened by it, yet the will of man is left in all its natural power. But with what severity soever they have treated the memory of this Monarch, they have invented such a tale of his son's recovery from the dead after three days and nights, by the intercession of St. PATRICK at the Queen's request, who was a pious convert, as fully justifies every thing which I have said of their fraud and ignorance. After all it is very doubtful whether the King was killed by lightning: for, according to WARE, it is said in some histories, that he was slain in battle by the people of Leinster, in attempting to take the tribute which he had released by oath.

OLLIO. The death of LOGARY after a tolerable reign of
 . OLL. five and thirty years, opened a way for the suc-
 A. D. cession of OLLIOLL MOLT, the son of DATHY of
 463. the Heremonian line, to the Monarchy of his an-
 ——— cesters. In the same year Bishop PATRICK re-
 turned from Rome, taking Britain in his way; where he left the rules for the monastic orders which he instituted, called "cursus Scotorum"; and from whence he brought with him into Ireland a new supply of Bishops and Priests, in order to support the Church which his own hands had founded. Though he was by this time advanced to an extreme old age, and could not perform the active part of a missionary, yet his zeal for the undertaking was not in the least abated. He frequently held synods and ecclesiastical councils, in which every thing was expunged that had crept into the Churches

Churches contrary to the Catholic faith ; and every thing agreeable to natural law and the scripture canon was established.

In all these proceedings, and indeed in his whole conduct as the Apostle of the Irish nation, he acted like a man who had no other commission than what he owed to his zeal and the vigour and integrity of his his own mind ; or than what lay in common to every bishop of the catholic church. The pretence of an universal pastorphism over the churches by a DIVINE RIGHT, was not so much as thought of at that time at Rome ; and churches unform'd were plainly left to the prudence and charity of those pious men, who should be the happy instruments of converting pagan nations to the faith. It is plain by what followed, that the Irish seemed acquainted with no other authority, than what arose from the charity and the good sense of PATRICK : and if they were acquainted with any other, if they knew any thing of the universal pastorphism or patriarchal power at Rome which extended to this island, they acted, it must be owned, like strangers to all pretensions of that nature ; as will appear when we get further into the history—I shall now return to the state.

The opposition which had been given to LOGARY's demand of the Boromean tribute, and the ill success he met with in that measure, did not deter his successor OLLIOLL MOLT from making the like attempt. For the same error prevails in public as in private life ; the error of not being convinced in things against our inclination but by our own experience. His insisting therefore upon a tribute, which had been paid through so great a length of time to the Monarchs of Ireland from the province of Leinster, is not so much to be wondered at, as his not seeing the great iniquity and oppression of this act, after so many years instruction in the moral duties of Christianity. But this only
proves,

proves, among a thousand other instances, that few men act entirely upon principle; and that in the general we are governed, by passion, custom, or caprice, not only in the little, but in the great affairs of life. OLLIOLL MOLT however is handed down to us by the historians, "as an honour to religion and government; because he can be charged with no other mal-administration than what the best of his predecessors had been equally guilty of." But the best of his predecessors were pagan Princes, for whom more is to be said in excuse than for this Monarch. Indeed nothing is to be said for him, but that the convention of the states had sanctified this oppression by law; and that custom had taken away much of its scandal, if not of its iniquity, in the opinion of the legislature.

But if OLLIOLL was not deterred from making this demand by the ill success of his predecessor, on the other hand the King and people of Leinster were encouraged, by the prosperity of their arms against LOGARY, to exert themselves in defence of their rights and liberties, in opposition to the tyranny of the succeeding Monarch. With the same spirit therefore that the demand was made, with the same resolution it was refused; and after the usual manner of deciding the contests of Princes in those warlike ages, a battle was fought with mutual fierceness, and a terrible slaughter on both sides; and yet the province was not freed from the cruel exaction of this tribute. More is not said in the ancient annals, and therefore more cannot be related. For the Monkish writers of these ages were so fond of ecclesiastical affairs, that we meet with little else besides the founding of churches and Monasteries, the succession of Bishops, the exterior progress of Christianity, and the miracles of their Saints.

Great

Great encomiums are bestowed upon this Monarch, for his frequent recourse to the sense of the nation, by regularly convening the representatives to meet at Tara. Whether any thing more than the usual business was transacted in them, we are not told ; nor indeed do we hear of any other acts of OLLIOLL's besides the summoning these assemblies, and the battle fought with the province of Leinster for their tribute, during a reign of twenty years. In support of the great character which he left behind, the chronicles think it enough to record nothing ill of him ; for they look upon the Boromean tribute as much the act of the State as of the Monarch. But surely only to do no ill, wicked as the world has been, is a commendation below the dignity of a man ; scarce good enough for a tame and domestic brute. Man is made a sociable creature ; and Kings, of all men, are evidently intended to be of use and service to the society over which they are placed. Leaving therefore the merit of OLLIOLL to rest on the credit of the annalists, I shall proceed to inform the reader, that notwithstanding this merit, as he did not fill the throne by the right of succession, LUGHAD, the son of LOGARY, who had been put by ; raised a formidable party against him. Neither his merit nor his authority were able to preserve him from the attacks of his competitor ; and the forces of both having joined issue, the battle of Ocha was fought, in which OLLIOLL MOLT was defeated and slain. But this battle was not only decisive with respect to the reigning Monarch, but also with respect to the regal succession of the provincial Kings.

For notwithstanding the law established in the reign of TUATHAL TEACHMOR in order to preserve

preserve the monarchy in his own family exclusive of the Princes of the other lines, yet some of those Princes were now and then thrust in by faction, which is regardless of all laws, divine as well as human ; and though they approved themselves worthy enough of the crown they held, at least some of them did, yet their abilities and integrity were a bad equivalent for such illegal usurpations. But the time was now come, that the Heremonian line was so powerful in the family of NIALL the great, as not only to exclude the provincial Princes for near six hundred years, and to confine the sovereignty to themselves, but also to produce a prodigious revolution in power and property. For though a nominal pentarchical government still subsisted, and the petty sovereigns were called Kings of Leinster, Munster, &c. as before, yet all the provinces were so curtailed by this Ily Niall race, which had erected principalities out of them, that the government of Ireland from this time became in fact aristocratical, like that of Germany at present. With this event I shall therefore put a period to this book ; the historical facts of which, both civil and ecclesiastical, when stripped of their miracles and legends, are much fewer than we might expect in this enlightened age. But it is almost certain that we have but a small part remaining of what was written ; just the outlines or annals of their history copied into the registry of their Churches, and which escaped the barbarous ravages of the Scandinavian rovers as well as their English enemies.

The facts however which have been transmitted, are not without their instruction both in public and private life, in the Church as well as the state : and if the ecclesiastical and the civil reader are not

not the better for them, the fault is not in the history but in themselves. The pious zeal and benevolence of the good Bishop PATRICK and his associates, may be a lesson to an Irish ecclesiastick in particular, that his best endeavours should be exerted to perfect the work which they began ; not in converting the people from pagan darkness to Christianity as they had done, but in reclaiming them from a darkness almost as gross and pernicious to society, the errors of popery and their ignorance of true religion. The field for his labours is almost as large, and zeal and diligence are as necessary, as they were in the days of the first missionaries : and though in this age an ecclesiastick is not expected to be a Saint, yet so many Churches in ruins, so many parishes without a Protestant minister residing in them, and the wretched condition of that religion in Ireland, deserve surely to be laid to heart more seriously among the clergy, than we have reason to think they are. However to point out examples in former times for the improvement of the present, is certainly the best design in writing history ; and to apply these examples is the best end in reading it.

THE
HISTORY
OF
IRELAND.

BOOK VII.

LUGAD.
II. **N**OTWITHSTANDING the rapid progress
— first fifty years after its introduction into Ireland,
A. D. yet its morals were too sublime for the carnal
483. mind; and not many great, not many noble,
not many mighty were converted. Even of those
who had embraced it, not a few remained under
the power of their evil habits, if not under their
former ignorance, and such hasty conversions ac-
complished with little instruction, upon no
grounds of reason, upon no principle but a sort
of fashion, custom or enthusiasm, without exami-
nation, and perhaps without understanding the
grounds of their belief, do no great honour to
the religion under whose banner such converts list.
The reader therefore must not be surprized, if he
meets with infidelity among some of the Chiefs
and Princes; or with the same intestine divisions
and bloody contests for power in their Christian
state, as he hath already seen whilst they were Pa-
gans. Nor is this a greater objection to religion,
than to natural law.

There

There is an unaccountable mixture of contra-LUGAD
rieties in the nature of man as it now stands; the II:
seeds of something so great and noble in his rea-
soning faculty, and at the same time something so
weak and disorderly in his general use of it, as
have puzzled the wisest and most inquisitive men
to account for. No wonder therefore hat in this
state of corruption, the Christian religion hath not
a greater effect upon the heart than we see it hath;
when it is taken up through form or education
without the conviction of the mind; or when
wrong opinions in it are adopted favourable to this
corruption; or when passion and dissipation prevent
a serious attention to its most important principles.
Any one of these circumstances is sufficient to pre-
vent the influence of religion on the human heart:
but these were all perhaps united in the first con-
versions of many of the Irish Princes to the
Christian faith; and they lived accordingly.

The death of OLLIOLL MOLT, which was fought for no other reason but because his life stood in the way of his successor's ambition, led LUGHAD the son of LOGARY to the throne : and as though this unhappy country had been always doomed to be devasted by the strife and slaughter of its own inhabitants, we read of nothing through a reign of five and twenty years, but of six bloody battles fought by Irish against Irish, we do not know why nor wherefore, and fatal to many thousands. Some of these were no doubt occasioned by the exaction and refusal of the Bormean tribute ; and a more important cause perhaps could not be assigned for any. In one of these fell ANGUS the King of Munster, before-mentioned ; who is said to pay such a regard to the piety and instructions of S. PATRICK, as to settle a great revenue on the clergy of his province, and to retain two Bishops, ten Priests, and seven-

Vol. II. D ty-two

LUGAD-ty-two religious in his court, for the performance
 II. of divine service.

— We left the good Apostle, as the reader may remember, in extreme old age, convening synods and councils for the government of the Church, and for the encrease of true religion. The course of the history obliges me now to return to him. It does not appear that after his last voyage from Britain, he either resumed the see of Ardmagh, or confined himself to any particular charge. For though he lived thirty years after that excursion, yet being so much stricken in years, and the faculties of his mind probably failing with his constitution, he spent the greatest part of this time in the monasteries of Saul and Ardmagh. Nor was he easily drawn out of these retreats, unless called by some very important business of the church, in which his authority and advice were necessary. But worn out at length with age and infirmities, in the tenth year of this reign, and in the hundred and twentieth of his age, he died in the abbey of Saul, and was buried at Down.

In this manner ended the life and labours of Bishop PATRICK, deservedly called “the Apostle of the Irish:” and though he is generally understood, and reported by most writers, to have established the metropolitical see at Ardmagh, and to have been himself an Archbishop and Primate of all Ireland, yet I find no good authority for this conjecture. There is no transaction in any of the histories of that country to lead to such an opinion; and the writers of his life, who are said to be threescore in number, deserve not to be credited. They have all of them ascribed to him the power of working miracles; and perhaps imagining that they could never do him honour enough, they have made him Primate and Metropolitan of the Church he founded among the Irish. But we are told by
 Arch-

Archbishop USHER in a manuscript which I saw LUGAD under his own hand in the College Library at Dublin, "that though PROBUS acknowledges the primacy to be in the see of Ardmagh, yet he does not say that PATRICK founded the Church there, but only monasteries and habitations for religious men : and the most ancient author in whom we read the feat of the primacy to be placed by PATRICK himself at Ardmagh, is no older than BERNARD— in the twelfth century,—who saith, that he lived and died there : whereas all depart from him in the latter part of his report, and there is no necessity that we should absolutely yield to the former, that in his life-time he was Bishop thereof. As the Irish antiquities mention Bishops of that nation before the mission of PATRICK, so also do I find in them mention of Metropolitans before the coming of PAPIRON."

But it is certain that the primacy of old did belong to the see of Ardmagh ; and whether PATRICK had any other authority or power as metropolitan than what he conferred upon himself, which is much to be doubted, yet it is as certain that he appointed and consecrated Bishops. In short, to speak my own opinion, he rather acted as Apostle of the Church of Ireland, going about from place to place, instructing the people, planting monasteries, ordaining assistants in his undertaking, establishing a liturgy, and framing rules of discipline, than as a Bishop of any one particular church. His resignation of Ardmagh soon after it was founded, if it was not strengthened as it is by other circumstances, is a plain proof of this. But whatever were his authority and jurisdiction, in his life we see nothing but zeal and piety, mortification, assiduity, and a thorough contempt of the world. From the great success which he had in propagating the gospel, a great deal of his history

LUGAD
II.

tory is employed by the Monkish writers, with the miracles that he performed in almost every place. But whether these were owing to the care of God, or to the credulity of the age, I shall leave the reader to judge. However, there was not a man in the world perhaps of a better heart than PATRICK. He was engaged in a glorious undertaking, was blessed with wonderful success, and we may say, that he was stamped in the very mould of zeal. But what is more than this, he lived up to his doctrine; and made is example in the highest manner significant of the goodness of his religion. It is no wonder when the Christian faith was taught by such a Prelate, so sweet in his temper, so benevolent in his disposition, and so upright in his practice, that he should be so successful as we find him in converting the Irish nation. Upon the whole, it may be said of PATRICK, that he had great zeal and learning, great devotion and virtue, and a strength and firmness of mind equal to any that we read of among the primitive Christians.

It hath already been taken notice of, that though this Bishop was probably consecrated at Rome, and is said by all writers to have been sent into Ireland by Pope CELESTINE, yet there are no traces of any commission, no instructions from his Holiness, nor the pretence of any model of Church government to be met with. It is evident, however, that the Religion which he introduced into that island, and which was professed by all the ancient Bishops, Priests, and Monks, and their Disciples, as to the chief points of doctrine, was in substance the same with the religion established at this day. Hence it follows that the reformation of the Church of Ireland, was so far from being liable to the objection of introducing novelties, that it removed only those errors and changes

changes which had crept into it both in doctrine and worship through ignorance and superstition. LUGAD II.

The use of the Holy Scriptures, was so far from being forbidden to the Laity, that it was recommended and enjoined as every Christian's duty. The place of purgatory, and prayers for the dead, were never heard of there 'till the twelfth century. They held image worship to be impious and abominable; and, by a canon of S. PATRICK, no creature was to be sworn by but the Creator only. Their infants were baptized without the consecrated Chrism; which is laid to their charge by LANFRANK Archbishop of Canterbury, so late as the eleventh century. The celibacy of the Clergy was a doctrine so unknown in the Church of Ireland, that INNOCENT the Third in the twelfth century, sent express directions to his Legate to abolish the abuse prevailing there, "of sons and grandsons succeeding their fathers and grandfathers in their ecclesiastical benefices," Many instances have been brought by Archbishop USHER, to prove that the Sacrament was anciently administered in both kinds to the people, and the cup not withheld from the laity; nor was the Mass any thing more than the public service of the Church, even when prayers were only said without the celebration of the Communion. As to the liturgy, there was no uniformity at all observed about it, but several forms of public service were used in different parts of the kingdom; till the Roman use was brought in at the request of all the Clergy in the beginning of the twelfth Century.

The ancient Christians in Ireland, as it appears from some of their writings, knew of no other foundation of their Church than CHRIST, and they give to PATRICK and other Prelates, the titles

LUGAD. of "his Vicar, of the Highest Priest, and the
 II. Highest Bishop;" titles which his Holiness in later
 ages hath arrogated to himself as ensigns of his
 monarchy. It was indeed till the twelfth century,
 that the Pope of Rome pretended to any jurisdiction
 temporal or spiritual in this country. The Kings and
 people of Ireland preserved the nomination of Archbishops
 and Bishops in their own hands; the clergy and laity of
 a diocese recommending a Prelate on a vacancy to their
 King, and the King to the Monarch, who had a negative
 in the nomination. Nor doth it appear from any approved
 record of antiquity, that either visitations of the clergy
 were held in the name of the Pope, or that any indulgences
 were sought by the Irish at his hands. They might
 probably have a great regard to the piety and learning
 of the Bishops of Rome in those days; but there are no
 footsteps to be found of any submission to that see, or
 any opinion of its infallibility: nay, there are instances
 of their preferring the judgment of other churches
 before it. Even Cardinal BARONIUS himself acknowledges,
 "that all the Bishops of Ireland stood up in defence
 of the three chapters condemned in the fifth general
 Council; and when they perceived that the Church of
 Rome received the condemnation of them, they departed
 from her, and adhered to the rest of the Schismatics
 that were in Italy, Africk, or other Countries: animated
 with this vain confidence, that they stood for the
 Catholick faith, while they defended those things
 that were concluded in the council of Chalcedon."

It was necessary to give the reader this abstract
 of the religion of the ancient Irish; which, under
 that title, he may find treated of in a book by
 Archbishop USHER, if he desires to see it more at
 large; and in which the authorities that he goes
 upon

upon are particularly cited. This sketch however **LUGAD** is enough to convince us, that the reformation **II.** made no other change in the church of Ireland, than to bring it back again to its ancient state, before the court of Rome had usurped an authority over it, and corrupted it with innovations as contrary to Scripture as to common sense. In short it will remove one of the main pillars on which they rest their arguments against Protestants; that we had no other church before **LUTHER** but the church of Rome. For from hence it hath appeared, that, during the first seven hundred years after the introduction of Christianity, the Irish were so far from owning the authority of the Church of Rome, that they had their own liturgy distinct from the Roman service, their own Ecclesiastical rites and customs, their own metropolitical power without a pall, even greater than it was after it; and in short, that they had no communication directly or indirectly with the see of Rome, any otherwise than they might have with any christian Bishops.

In this condition stood the affairs of the Irish Church at the death of **PATRICK**: and of the State we find nothing more recorded in this reign, than what hath been already mentioned; except that at the latter end of it a descent was made on some parts of Scotland, and Albany, Argyle, and the Hebrides conquered. The reader may remember a colony planted in North Britain, called the Dalriadas, as well as one of that name in Ireland, from **ACHY RIADA**, their founder. That colony grew up gradually in numbers and power, as this did also in Ireland, under his posterity, who governed both the Dalriadas with equal success. The Picts at last, however, grew jealous of this rising family in North Britain, as the people of Ulster and the Momonians had been before; and making war upon their new guests, drove them back

A. D.
503.

LUGAD back again into Ireland with some animosity.
 II. These sort of injuries are seldom wrote by the sufferers in sand; and a body of people being affronted, the nation which they belong to share in the disgrace. The Kings of Ireland therefore, who never wanted fierceness nor resentment, being determined to revenge this violent expulsion of the British Dalriadas, assisted the sons of EIRK with a formidable army; not only to regain their old possessions, but also to extend their conquests and dominion in North Britain. With this army, the descent and success above-mentioned were made and obtained in the last years of the reign of LUGAD. These sons of EIRK were known by the names of the two ANGUS's, the two FERGUS's, and the two LORNS; and they were of great reputation and interest in their country, not only on account of their illustrious lineage, but also for their own personal qualifications.

A. D.
 508.

Whether LUGAD had not been educated in the Christian faith, or whether he had not embraced it, or had revolted from it, it is impossible for us to determine. One of these, however, probably was the case; because his death is said to be from a thunderbolt, as a punishment from Heaven for opposing St. PATRICK's preaching. If this is to be credited, that he met with his death in a storm of lightning, it must be observed that he lived fifteen years after the Saint, and that this good man was disabled from any such exercise of his ministry for thirty years before his death: and therefore if this anecdote of the King's death were true, the punishment of Heaven for his infidelity was long delayed; too long delayed indeed to deserve that title. If the Monarch had not embraced, or had revolted from Christianity, and fell abroad by a stroke of lightning usually esteemed a thunderbolt, it is no wonder that the superstitious

wri-

writers of that age should interpret it as an immediate judgment from above. In those times of ignorance, and well it would be if it might be said in those times alone, the ecclesiastical writers were as familiar with the decrees and judgments of Heaven, as though they had been themselves of the council; and their notions of the Deity were more suitable to a little narrow minded man, than to the great and benevolent father of the universe. But in what way soever LUGAD came by his death, an interregnum succeeded it for five years. It is strange that we should find no other account of an insident so remarkable and extraordinary; not the least word dropped by any historian from which we may conjecture how this should come to pass. Whether by any particular accident no Roydamna had been chosen in a reign of five and twenty years, which is highly improbable; or whether he died at the same time with the Monarch, and the various contests for the throne were not determined in less than five years, it is not said; nor is it possible for us to guess.

At the end of that period, the family of the MURK-sons of EIRK had acquired so much renown in the progress of their arms against the Picts that MURKERTACH of the line of NIALl the great, the grandson of LORN the eldest of those sons, was elected Monarch of Ireland. Notwithstanding his illustrious descent and his own personal merit, nothing more remains of him in a reign of one and twenty years, though more no doubt must have been recorded, than that he met with great opposition and disturbances in his government, fought five battles, in one year, and at last died a natural death. This is the account we have in KEATING; but my manuscript relates, that his enemies having set a house on fire in which he was entertained, when he was almost burnt to death,

MURK-ERT. death they took him out, and cruelly throwing him in that condition into the water he was drowned. But contrary to both these accounts we read in **WARE**, that some say he died with drink, and others that he was drowned in a hog'shead of wine. His grandfather **LORN** had better success in attempting the Scottish sovereignty; for by the conquests which he and his brothers made a little before, he acquired the title and authority of King of Albany, or Dalriada. Here they began to erect a monarchical government, upon the plan of that of Ireland their parent country. But this not being compleated in the time of **LORN**, and his brother **FERGUS** succeeding him, from whom are lineally descended the present Royal Family, he is generally distinguished by historians as the first King of Scotland. The rest of the annals of this reign that we have remaining, treat of nothing but the birth and death of Irish Saints; the stories of which, if they were not legendary—as they are—deserve not to be related in such a work as this. The reader may lament with me, but he cannot blame me, that there are no other nor better materials for history at this period. To the poverty of the writers, to the bad taste of the times, or to the rage of conquest, perhaps a little to all of them, but to none so much as the last, this great deficiency must be attributed.

TUATH.
II. A. D.
533. **TUATHAL** Maolgarb, the great grandson of the hero **NIALL**, succeeded to the Monarchy on the death of his predecessor. His reign was eleven years, and yet nothing worthy of notice is handed down concerning it. Indeed **KEATING** hath told us very gravely, that his surname was given him, because as soon as he was born his mother struck his head against a stone, as a sort of charm upon which his future fortune was to depend; and the blow having occasioned a flatness upon

upon his head, he acquired the name of Maolgarb. ^{TUATH.}
 Whether the ignorance of the mother who did ^{II.}
 this, or of the man who gravely related it for
 history, is the most surprizing, I shall leave to the
 reader's determination. But the credulity of this
 writer had scarce any bounds: he tells us also of
 a disciple of St. PATRICK who died in this reign
 at the age of three hundred years; and of a sturdy
 cripple at the fair of Taltean, who had his
 head struck off from his shoulders in the sight of
 a great number of people, by the vengeance of
 Heaven, as a punishment for swearing falsely by
 the hand of one of their Saints. One would be
 apt to suspect the truth of this miracle, if for no
 other reason, yet for this; that it hath had no effect
 on the common people of that country, who from
 that day to this continue the practise of swearing
 falsely beyond all other people that we know. A
 dry narration of the birth and death of some more
 Saints, and of a few battles fought, without the
 least particular concerning them, fill up the re-
 mainder of the history of the days of TUA-
 THAL.

The days of this Monarch it seems were finish-^{DER-}
 ed at the request and instigation of his Roydamna,^{MOD.}
 though he was himself a great grandson by another ^{A. D.}
 father of NIALL the great. DIARMUID, or DER-
 MOD, the new Monarch, was, like many of his
 predecessors, impatient to mount the throne: and
 to the fears and jealousies of the Monarchs on one
 side, and to the ambition and thirst of honour in
 the Roydamnas, on the other, so many cruel mur-
 ders, and such slaughter of the Kings of Ireland in
 battle, must undoubtedly be attributed. Not-
 withstanding a dreadful Plague overspread the
 kingdom in this reign, which made terrible ha-
 vock, yet the rage of ambition remained still un-
 cured; and battle succeeded battle with hellish
 fierce-

DER-
MOD.

fierceness and a deluge of blood. One of these was fought against the reigning Monarch, in which he was defeated with a terrible slaughter of his troops, and obliged to fly to save his life. There is nothing marvellous or uncommon in this at all: but according to the superstition of that time, a Saint must necessarily have the power of Heaven at his command: and this great defeat is attributed to the prayers of a Monk against him, whom the Monarch had offended by putting to death one of his scholars. The name of this Saint was COLUMBE CILL, and next to PATRICK he made the most industrious figure.

It might redound perhaps to the honour of monkery to give him so much interest in Heaven as to direct the battle in what way he pleased: but the ignorance of the writer was equal to his superstition; not perceiving, that at the same time he did a great dishonour to Christianity, in representing a Saint to execrate his enemies, and 'to execrate them with success. But many instances of this sort occur in this age, in which an honour is done to monkery at the expence of truth and of religion. Soon after DERMOT met with this defeat, the Monk, which perhaps might give rise to this report, removed into North-Britain, founded a Monastery at Huy, since called Iona, and made a great figure afterwards in that country. The same ill fortune attended the Monarch in another battle, when the piety of the Monk was not employed in his defeat; and here the slaughter was almost incredible, there being scarce a man of his army that remained alive.

It is proper, however, to inform the reader, that the manuscript in my possession gives a different account from this above; but agreeable enough to another which KEATING himself gives of this fact in another place; and which though it may not

not be true is somewhat more satisfactory. It tells **DER-**
us that **COLUMBE** having borrowed a book of **FI-MOD.**
NAN, another Monk of great name, and which
 was written by him, **COLUMBE** copied it; which
 as soon **FINAN** heard, he demanded both the co-
 py and the original. **COLUMBE** not being wil-
 ling to yield up what had cost him a great deal of
 labour, the dispute was referred to **DERMOD**; who
 decided it in favour of **FINAN** with this coarse and
 uncourtly simile, that every copy belonged to the
 original as every calf belonged to its dam. **Co-**
LUMBE was offended with the Monarch for this
 sentence;—and soon after his resentment broke
 out into a flame, on the Monarch's forcibly ta-
 king away a Prince of Connaught, who had fled to
COLUMBE for protection, for killing a companion
 by chance medley, and on his causing the Prince
 to be put to death. If the Monk was wrong in
 the first instance, he was undoubtedly right in the
 second; and exciting the King of Connaught and
 some Chiefs of his own family to chastise the Mo-
 narch for his cruelty, the battle was fought with
 the success mentioned above, as an effect of **Co-**
LUMBE's prayers. The reader has now the two
 accounts, and he may take which he pleases. Not
 long after the second battle, **DERMOD** himself fell
 by the sword, after a reign of one and twenty
 years; not very glorious nor very happy.

On the death of this Monarch, **FERGUS** and **FERGUS**
DONALD, the two sons of **MORTOUGH** of the Ni-II. and
 allian family, swayed the sceptre jointly for one **DONAL.**
 year. In this short time they fought with the **A. D.**
 King and province of Munster, whom they de- 565.
 feated with the loss of many of their Nobility, and
 the greatest part of their army. Whether the two
 Monarchs were mortally wounded in this engage-
 ment—which is not improbable—or whether they
 fell by a natural death is uncertain: we are only
 told

FERGUS told that they both died soon after. Neither is **II.** and there any other account of the three next **DONAL.** successions; but that the son and brother of one of them reigned jointly for two years, and were slain; that the same fate attended the next Monarch of the same family in three years; and that his successor held the crown but one year before he was treacherously slain also. How it happened that there were twice two Monarchs on the throne together, and how the reign of so many of them, all of the Niallian lineage, was violently determined in so short a space, we meet with nothing to inform us. These things therefore must remain now for ever in obscurity, and we must content ourselves with the accounts we have.

HUGH I. On the death of the last Monarch, **AIDH** or **A. D. HUGH**, of the posterity of the hero **NIALL**, obtained the crown. In a reign of twenty seven 572. years which he enjoyed it, we may naturally look for something, besides the founding of monasteries and colleges—which the public dissensions gave no interruption to—and the birth and death of Bishops and Saints; and in this expectation we shall not be disappointed. For though this reign was sprinkled as usual with bloody battles, yet the life of the Monarch being spared, notwithstanding some defeats, there was time enough for these contests, and in the intervals for cultivating the interests of government and the arts of peace. Accordingly we are told, that religion and learning flourished in the monasteries and schools; and the poets being encreased to a prodigious number, and becoming a grievance to the people from the charge they were at to support them, **HUGH** was determined to put them under another regulation, or else to expel them all out of the kingdom. Indeed if the account is to be credited, that because of the ease and idleness enjoyed in this profession

feſſion—for there a profeſſion it was—and of the great immunities and advantages annexed to it by the ancient laws of the land, a third part of the men of Ireland paſſed at this time under the name of poets, and claimed the privileges of that character, the reſolution of the Monarch ſeems wiſe and neceſſary.

An idle tale is mixed with this important anecdote by the hiſtorians, and diſgraces it not a little; that the King's reſentment againſt this body was principally whetted by their inſolence, in demanding the gold buckle and pin which faſtened the Royal robe upon his breaſt, and was delivered down with the crown from one Monarch to another with a religious punctuality, as an eſſential ornament. The abſurdity of this demand by ſuch a number of men is too glaring to admit of any degree of credit; and muſt have been introduced into the hiſtory by one of that order, to make the Monarch's oppoſition to them appear perſonal and ridiculous. But this we know was not the firſt time that the Poets felt the reſentment of the Kings and people of Ireland. They were thrice before become ſo obnoxious from their numbers, and ſo burdenſome from their ſupport, that, had not the Kings of Ulſter each time interpoſed, received them into their province, and in a manner been ſureties for their good behaviour, the Poets would long ſince have been baniſhed out of the iſland.

Befides the regulation of this order of men, the Monarch had other affairs of importance at this time upon his hands which required redreſs.

The tribe of the Dalriadas in Scotland, beſides an obligation to aſſiſt their mother country with their forces by ſea and land, were alſo to pay an Erick, which ſignified Ransom or Kindred-money, by way of homage to the crown of Ireland. But this tribute, ſince they had erected Scotland into
a mon-

HUGH I. a monarchy, was paid for some time with great reluctance, and now was absolutely refused. This was an indignity in the eyes of a King of the Niall race that was not to be borne; and **HUGH** determined to put an end to it. Another business, of no small importance to a careful Monarch, it was also necessary now to adjust. **SCANLAN**, the Chief of the country of Ossory, had not only neglected to transmit into the Exchequer the revenue arising from that territory, but had also appropriated the money to his own use, for which he was put in prison; and his son being a man of abilities, and willing to give security for the payment of the taxes laid upon his country, the King was inclined to give him the government of it in his father's room. Whether the Monarch had not the power to make this change himself, without a consultation with the States of the kingdom, or whether having the other affairs to propose for their deliberation, he voluntarily waved his own authority, and threw this into their hands also, in order to become popular, it is impossible for us to say: the sequel would incline one to believe the latter.

In the frequent contests for the crown, and the tumults occasioned by such a quick succession as we have just passed through before **HUGH**'s advancement, it is impossible but many disorders must have crept into the government and weakened the constitution. As soon therefore as he was settled firmly upon the throne, he issued a mandate to the princes, the nobility, the clergy, and the principal gentry in the kingdom, to meet in parliament at Dromceat. How **Tara** came to be disused upon this occasion we are not told; and yet particulars of less moment are related, such as the names of the great men, and their titles, who met in this assembly by the King's command. A person, however, of the greatest figure there, next the King

King himself, was certainly not summoned; and **HUGH I.** that was **COLUM CILL** or **COLUMBE**, from North Britain. The chief occasions of calling this parliament having been transmitted to the Monk, he was determined to attend it; and to throw in all his weight and influence in favour of those whom the King intended to proceed against. It is possible that he might have a tincture of poetry in his composition, which might incline him to interpose in behalf of the professors of that art; and he might have had a private friendship for **SCANLAN**, or might be related to him, and from thence might be interested on his side. But whether this were so or not, it is easy enough to account for his intervention, extraordinary as it was, between the Monarch of Ireland and the Dalriadas of North Britain.

The temper of **COLUM CILL**, as much a Saint as they have made him in the Irish history, was turbulent and revengeful, as will appear more plainly than it hath done already: He was now become an inhabitant of Albania, had erected a monastery at Iona, of which he was himself the Abbot, and had extraordinary influence in the councils and the public affairs of that kingdom. The reader will easily give me credit for this assertion, when he is told that **COLUM CILL** brought with him in his retinue to this parliament, no less than twenty Bishops, forty Priests, fifty more in religious orders of one sort or other, and thirty students in divinity not yet admitted.

It must be owned indeed, it seems incredible, that Bishops should appear in the train of a Monk, who was himself only a Priest: but our venerable **BEDÉ** has cleared up that matter by letting us know, "that the island of Iona had always an Abbot for its governor, who was a Priest; to whom not only the whole province, but also the Bishops, by an

HUGH I. unusual order, owed submission; after the example of the founder and first teacher, who was not a Bishop but a Priest and a Monk." "It might be added, says **COMERFORD**, that the Monks who had vowed obedience to the Abbot of Iona, though advanced to the episcopal dignity, believed their former vow to be indispensably obliging." This passage will undoubtedly solve the difficulty of accounting for **COLUM CILL**'s being at the head of such a body of men at this convention: but may it not also throw some light on the authority, which **S. PATRICK** assumed in Ireland as Metropolitan, without any commission or appointment from the Monarch, or the Pope, for such an authority? I think it may.—But to turn again to the story.

It is said in some old manuscripts, that the Abbot was sent into Scotland by way of penance, for having embroiled the kingdom in great contention and three bloody battles in order to gratify his revenge: And as the terms of the penance were, that he should never see Ireland more, that therefore he wore a bandage over his eyes before he landed on this expedition, and during the whole time of his stay in the island. But this has too much the air of a Legend to be credited. Be it however as it might; when **COLUM CILL** and his attendants drew near to Dromceat, intelligence was brought to the King of Ireland of their arrival. The Abbot's character being well known and remembered at the court, an impression soon took place to his disadvantage, and no wonder.

The appearance of an Abbot of a fierce and fiery disposition, with such a train from Scotland, which it was one of the chief intentions of calling the Parliament to humble, had no promising aspect. He was not summoned; and strictly speaking, he had no right to a seat in this assembly, having

having removed from Ireland many years. The ^{HUGH I.} Queen therefore; it is said, was greatly alarmed at the arrival of such a troop of Ecclesiasticks from North Britain; and having no great veneration for their spiritual character or religion she persuaded one of her sons, as little affected to them as herself, to treat the Abbot and his retinue with contempt; or in other language, to give them a public affront. The Prince, in consequence of this advice, secured a mob; and when COLUM CILL and his company had entered the assembly, and were received with singular respect,—but my manuscript says, as they were drawing near it, which is most probable—they were pelted by the mob with turf and dirt in an outrageous manner.

An indignity like this, the reader must imagine, was not to pass without revenge from the Abbot; and when the story was in the hands of a Monkish writer, it will be no surprize to hear that the Saint had Heaven at his command, though at the expence of his Saintship, to do the Devil's work; at least to curse the Prince by the bell, which immediately procured his madness, and to bring long and languishing pains upon the Queen, and even on the maid who carried her message to the prince her son. Among such writers in those ages, this kind of miracles is so frequent, that one meets with them in almost every page; and it is not peculiar to this history. Superstition and ignorance were in every place the characteristicks of the times: they thought it necessary to give their Saints all the power of Heaven, though that power was exercised very often, by their own account, to most unrighteous purposes.

The Monarch had another son, whose name was DONALD, of a different disposition from his brother, who paid great respect to the Abbot and his

HUGH I. companions ; and therefore he was as much entitled to COLUM's blessing as the other son had been to his curses ; and the success of both in the court of Heaven, we are told, was equal. These mutual civilities having passed between them, the Abbot was introduced into the king's apartment ; who is represented to stand in some awe of the Saint, on account of the miracles which he dealt about so liberally on the persons of those who chanced to offend him. But the sequel of the story does not confirm this fact. COLUM opened the negotiation with which he had charged himself at this assembly in a private audience ; and having informed the Monarch that he had three requests to make him, his first intercession was for the Poets. In answer to this the King assured him, his intention of banishing those people did not arise from his dislike of their profession, but from the grievance, which by their numbers, their maintenance, and their hindrance of trade and industry, they occasioned to his people.

The privileges annexed of old to this order of men, whose patrimonies as well as persons were inviolable in all commotions, no taxes nor services being required of them, and their houses being as so many sanctuaries not to be violated without impiety, had encouraged such an incredible number to enter themselves into this society, that the profession itself was become obnoxious to the State ; and the Monarch saw no remedy but by totally suppressing it. The Abbot being convinced, by the King's representation, of the necessity of a regulation, and yet being averse to the utter extinction of the order proposed to the Monarch to restrain the number, and degrade the rest. The King approved the proposal, and it was carried into a law ; which subsisted as long as the Irish retained their government. The King of Ireland, every provincial Sovereign, and the Lord of every territory,

tory, were each to retain a Poet, in order to re-HUGH I.
cord the exploits and preserve the genealogies of
their families : a salary was to be settled upon them,
sufficient to afford an honourable maintenance ;
and they were to instruct the youth of their several
districts in history, poetry and antiquities. An
Arch-poet or President was set over the whole body,
who was to examine the abilities and qualifications
of the several candidates on a vacancy, and to no-
minate those whom he thought best deserved it.
The revenues assigned for their support, were ex-
empted as before, from tax and plunder, their
persons were also privileged, and besides their
stated salaries they were to be paid for every poem
by their patron according to its merit.

This important affair relating to the poetical or-
der being thus adjusted to their mutual satisfaction,
the Abbot proceeded to his next request ; which
was, that the King of Ossory might be released
from his imprisonment and restored to his govern-
ment of that territory. But as much as HUGH is
said to stand in awe of the Saint, he gave a flat de-
nial to this request ; and doubtless thought it not
a little impertinent in the Monk to make it. The
historians however have contented themselves with
releasing SCANLAN by the Saints interest in Hea-
ven, without inflicting a punishment on the King
for his disobedience. An Angel appeared in the
prison, bid SCANLAN stand up, leave his fetters
behind, and follow him. The Saint advised him to
return home, and resume his government ; and to
secure him against any further attempts of HUGH,
which he was afraid of, COLUM lent him his epis-
copal staff—who by the way was no Bishop—
which would be alone a defence against all tempo-
ral power. The history goes further, and relates
mutual civilities between the Saint and SCANLAN,
which I presume the reader will not expect that I

HUGH I. should repeat : it will rather want an excuse, I doubt, that I have dipped in this legendary tale so deep already. But even these tales sometimes are not without their use. They not only discover the genius and the principles of the times, but they shew us also to what amazing lengths of credulity and delusion, enthusiasm is able to carry those whom it hath possessed, even against the testimony of their own sense and reason.

Another part of the Abbot's negotiation, and perhaps the only one that was not impertinent, is still behind, the tribute to be paid to the crown of Ireland by the Dalriadas of North Britain; of whom COLUM CILL was the spiritual father. His interposition therefore in this case was not unnatural, and will admit of some excuse. But though he pleaded the cause of his friends and disciples with great warmth, yet he had not that success which might be expected from a King who is said to have stood in awe of him. The Abbot represented the long disuse of the tribute, the indulgence which had been shewn that colony by former Monarchs, the unnatural hostility of waging war upon their own descendants, and the readiness of the Scots to assist their mother country still with all their forces against an enemy. But this remonstrance had no effect. **HUGH** was determined to push the demand of this tribute in the assembly with all his influence; and he was not to be moved from his purpose by any thing the Monk could offer. The reader however may be assured, that his bigotted historians would not permit the Monk to be baffled; and therefore they tell us, that finding all his arguments and entreaties vain, he left the Monarch, with this threat, that the Scottish colony was under the immediate care of Heaven, and that they were able and determined to put an end to the tyranny
and

and oppression of the crown of Ireland ; and Pro-HUGH I. evidence did accordingly deliver them from it.

Thus ended the negotiation of COLUM CILL with the Monarch HUGH : but the assembly at Dromceat continued sitting, it is said, without any prorogation for the space of thirteen months ; in which the law relating to the Poets, and many others of great utility to the state, were devised and settled. Before we take a final leave of this extraordinary Monk, in order to shew the reader the state of religious knowledge at that time in Ireland, it may be proper to let him know, that every family of the nobility and gentry throughout the kingdom which had renounced Paganism, had a singular veneration for some particular Saint, whose protection they implored, and whose name they invoked upon all occasions ; as the Heathens did their household Gods. In short, there was not a country or territory in the whole island which had not their particular Saint, whom they chose as the guardian of their lives and fortunes ; and these Saints are all recorded with the provinces and families they had the charge of. But these were all allowed to be of an inferior order when compared with PATRICK, who possessed the first place in the Irish calendar, which he still retains, as the guardian Angel of the whole island. COLUM CILL was esteemed the tutelary Saint of the illustrious tribe of O'NEILL ; and to his interest above, the success of their battles, in which they were invincible, was attributed.

The Boromean tribute from the province of Leinster, continued still to be demanded, and still refused ; and it was not therefore without the loss of many lives, valuable to their country, and much more valuable to their families, that this tax was paid by one side or levied by the other. Such,

HUGH I. and so calamitous, are the fatal effects of ambition and pride in the breasts of Princes ! If the monarchs of Ireland were too proud to relinquish a claim established by their predecessors, and confirmed by the legislature, though evidently a wicked one, the Kings of Leinster, grieved by such an iniquitous exaction which they had no share in provoking, were too high spirited to submit to it without compulsion ; and thus the poor innocent people were sacrificed to the pride of both. The tribute being denied as usual in this reign, **HUGH** sent one of his sons with an army to collect it : but this army being defeated and the son slain, the resentment of the Monarch was much enflamed. Collecting therefore a great body of forces from the other provinces, he marched in person at the head of them into Leinster ; but his camp being surprized by the enemy, a great slaughter was made in the royal army, and the Monarch himself did not escape.

HUGH II. and COLMAN. A. D. 599. **HUGH** the second, surnamed **SLAINE**, another descendent of the hero **NIALL**, and **COLMAN** King of Meath, of the same family, shared the monarchy between them ; or, to speak with more propriety, ruled the kingdom jointly for six years. It is natural to expect some account of an event so extraordinary and important ; but nothing is to be met with ; and we are only told that they fell by the

HUGH III. sword. **HUGH** the third, the son of **DONALD**, of the same lineage, ascended the throne ; and all that we hear of him or of his reign, which lasted seven years, is, that he was troubled with fits, that he met with frequent disturbances, and was killed in battle. Though the three next reigns make a period of thirty years, yet there is no other historical fact recorded, than the names of the battles fought, the deaths of their Princes, and the miracles and deaths of their most famous Saints. It is said indeed,

indeed, in my manuscript, that a synod was held ^{DON-}during the last of these reigns.—DONALD the son ^{ALD.} of HUGH the first being Monarch—in the South ^{II.} parts of Ireland, about the time of the celebration of Easter : but the members of the synod not agreeing in opinion on this subject, that they dispatched the Abbot of Leighlin to Rome, in order to have their difficulties solved by the Apostolic See ; and that when the Abbot returned from thence, another synod was held at his convent, where the same debates arising, notwithstanding the Pope's decision, the assembly broke up without being able to come to any agreement. Hitherto then it is plain, that the church of Ireland knew nothing of that infallibility in the See of Rome, which hath since been founded so very high ; and that no other submission was paid to its authority, than as it agreed with the opinions of the Irish Ecclesiasticks. It appears too that these opinions in the general were not very conformable to the Roman model ; and every Church indeed at that time sat undisturbed in the enjoyment of its own observances : the supremacy of the See of Rome was not then, it is very certain, pretended to on the one side, nor submitted to and acknowledged on the other.

How much soever the want of historical facts is to be lamented in this age, yet, if it was possible to recover all the history that was wrote of it in Ireland, the whole would amount to little more than a mere narrative of the succession and genealogies of their Kings and Saints ; the battles of the former, and the miracles of the latter, the churches, monasteries, and schools that were erected ; the revenues appropriated ; and the prodigious numbers, which flocked from all parts of Christendom that were educated in them. In short, so bad a taste for writing prevailed at that time universally, through the general ignorance
and

DON-
ALD II.

and superstition which mankind were held in, that the historians, who were always Monks, or men in orders, scattered other topicks over their writings with a very sparing hand.

We are told indeed, by a modern writer, "that whilst the contests of the Hy-Niall Princes were every day disturbing the nation by their wars, or warlike preparations, yet each of them endeavoured to support his pretentions by popular virtues, and by giving the utmost security to religion and letters, in the endowment of colleges, the encouragement of knowledge, and in the establishment of the profoundest peace to the sciences amidst all the tumults of war. Thus, says he, have our Monarchs established a reputation which no other Princes in Europe ever yet obtained : Europe recognized it ; and so sensible of their merit was CHARLES the Great, Emperor of the West, that he honoured them in a particular manner with his alliance and friendship ; a memorial of which is preserved to this day in the paintings of the royal palace at Versailles [b]." It is to be presumed, that the facts in this passage are undeniable, though the colouring must be allowed to be greatly heightened : and if they shew us that learning was at a very low ebb in Europe at that time, they shew us also that Ireland had the most honourable share of it of any nation ; which sent its tutors and teachers to every other part. We in England particularly owe the greatest part of our conversion, notwithstanding the mission of AUSTIN, to the labours and piety of the Monks which swarmed hither from the Irish seminaries : and if we had any gratitude or candour, this alone is a consideration which should restrain us from the contempt, that we in general entertain for the natives of that island. But to return.

[b] Dissertat. Introd. p. 28, 9, 30.

On

On the death of DONALD in a natural way, CONALL and KELLACH, two brothers, and the grandsons of HUGH the first, administered the government jointly for twelve years. If we pass by the deaths of some of their Princes and Saints, and the names of some battles fought, there is nothing related in this reign, but a strange tale of one RAGALACH, a King of Conaught, who set aside his nephew from the succession and got him murdered; who ordered his own infant daughter to be given to a swineherd to be destroyed, that he might prevent the effects of a prediction made of her by a Druid, he being still a Pagan; and who met with an ignominious and violent death at the hands of some labourers, as a punishment, says the history, for his taking this daughter for his concubine, not knowing her birth, and for not putting her away at the exhortation of some of the clergy, who had imprecated Heaven to punish him in this manner. KELLACH, one of the Monarchs, was lost in a bog or lough; and CONALL the other brother held the reins of government alone for four years, till he was killed by one of his successors.

KEL-
LACH.
A. D.
642.

DERMOD and BLATHMAC, the sons of HUGH the second, ascended the throne; which they filled amicably for seven years, and were then taken off by a plague that raged all over Ireland. In the reign of these Princes, it is said by KEATING, that a King of England with thirty of his principal Nobility were in a bloody engagement defeated and slain. The English histories say nothing of this event; and this being the time of the heptarchy, the event could not be true of a King of England, though it might be so of a Prince of one of the seven kingdoms. The history of these times consisting of nothing but short and dry narrations, without entering into the particulars

DER-
MOD II.
BLATH-
MAC.

DER- of the most important actions, it is full as tire-
MOD II. some and disagreeable to the writer, as it can be
 and unentertaining and unprofitable to the reader ;
BLATH- and I shall therefore lead him through it as fast as
MAC. I can.

SACH- On the death of the two Monarchs occasioned
NAS. by the plague, **SACHNASACH** the son of one of
A. D. them ascended the throne ; in whose reign the
 665. Picts, for the first time, invaded Ulster, where a
 ——— furious battle was fought and a terrible slaughter
 was made of both the armies. After a reign of
 six years, the Monarch being killed as usual,
KINFA- **KINFAOLA** his brother succeeded him for four
OLA. years ; in which time the Picts made another
 descent on the province of Ulster, and burnt the
 famous monastery of Bangor to the ground ; the
 residence of above a thousand Monks, whom they
 dispersed, and drove out of the country.

FIN. The present Monarch having met the fate of
NACH. his predecessor **FINNACHTA**, by whose hand he
 fell, though another grandson of **HUGH** the second,
 obtained the government. As this Monarch sat
 on the throne of Ireland for twenty years, the ma-
 terials for history, one would imagine, should not
 be wanting. But of the King himself, there is
 nothing more said, than that he was remarkable
 for magnificent and expensive entertainments, that
 he fought a bloody battle with the province of
 Leinster, in which he made a slaughter of the great-
 est part of their troops, that then he remitted to
 them the annual tribute of cattle, and that some
 years afterwards he was killed. Of his reign it is
 said, that it was distinguished by an invasion of
 Ireland by the Welsh, who committed dreadful
 hostilities with a numerous army upon the coast ;
 and by another invasion with the forces of **EGFRID**
 the King of Northumberland, under the command
 of a General of great experience ; who reduced
 the

the inhabitants to the utmost extremities. For ^{FIN-}these accounts however we are obliged to our own ^{NACH.}BEDE ; who has impartiality enough to say, that they miserably ravaged that innocent nation—meaning Ireland—which was a most friendly ally to the English. The cruelties which the army exercised in not sparing age nor sex, nor even the churches, the monasteries, nor the consecrated vessels, threw the Irish at first into great confusion ; but recovering from their fright, they defended themselves so well, and returned the cruelties of the English so effectually upon them, that the General was glad to return home before his army was entirely cut to pieces.

LONGSEACH, a great grandson of HUGH the ^{LONG-}first, was the next Monarch : and besides another ^{SEACH.}visit from the Welsh who made great plunder, his ^{A. D.}reign is marked with a terrible and consuming ^{695.}murrain among the cattle all over the island ; which produced a famine so very grievous, that the inhabitants, it is said, were obliged to feed upon one another ; and that it continued for three years. But nothing could curb the spirit of those times of ravages and incursions for the sake of plunder. No sooner was the famine well at an end, than the Welshmen, flushed with the success of their former inroads, made another descent on the coast of Ulster. But the people of that province, animated as much with a desire of revenge as the others were with the hopes of booty, and being now prepared for their reception, exerted themselves so effectually and made so dreadful a slaughter of the British troops, that scarce any remained to carry home the tidings to their countrymen of their defeat. At the same time, in a battle between the royal army and the forces of Conaught—on what occasion we don't know—the King of Ireland,

LONG-SEAC. Ireland, who had sat nine years on the throne, lost his life.

**CON-
GALL.**

His successor was **CONGALL** of the Niallian race ; who during the seven years that he wore the crown, being a Pagan, was a cruel persecutor of the Irish church ; burning the regular and secular clergy at Kildare without mercy. One would imagine as Christianity had been planted then in Ireland almost three hundred years, and had met with marvellous success, that a Pagan could scarce have been found among men of rank and education in any part of the island. Much less would one imagine, that a Pagan Prince should have any chance of mounting the throne of Ireland, where the Monarchy was elective without any regard to primogeniture or hereditary right, and where the mass of the people had long been Christians. Here was a fair field therefore for entertaining and important history ; and such an event, it is probable, did not escape the writers of that time with a mere register only. This is all however which is handed down to us : and after a reign of seven years, and a death as sudden as unlamented, **FEARGALL**, a great grandson of **HUGH** the third, was his successor in the Monarchy.

**FEAR-
GALL.**

Notwithstanding the Welsh had so total a defeat in their last invasion, they made another descent in this reign ; and a bloody battle was fought between them and the Irish **Dalriadas**, with equal success and slaughter for a great part of the day ; when victory at last declared for the latter, and the Welsh were again routed with the loss of the greatest part of their army. But the most memorable transaction in the reign of this Monarch, was his battle with the King and province of **Leinster**, about the old bone of contention, the **Boromear** tribute. The royal army, it is said, consisted of one and twenty thousand chosen men, and the provincial

provincial troops which followed the King of FEAR-
Leinster, besides those of his household, were but GALL.
nine thousand. These indeed were veterans of
distinguished bravery, and they were led by a se-
lect band of about an hundred champions of the
highest military renown. As soon as the two
armies met in the field, they began to engage ;
and the provincial forces, excited by the ardour
of their chiefs, made so great an impression in
the beginning of the action, that they soon forced
their way into the centre of the royal army, and
carried all before them ; leaving above three
thousand dead upon the field of battle.

This surprising defeat of such a superior number,
is attributed to a pannick which seized the King's
army the first onset ; occasioned, say the historians,
by an apparition in the air, that hung over them,
and threw them, with the terror of it, into con-
fusion. This sight, adds the Chronicle, so terri-
fied some of the soldiers, that though they escaped
with their lives in the action, yet they afterwards
ran distracted. But there is no necessity to intro-
duce an apparition as the cause of a sudden pan-
nick in a body of troops who have the superiority ;
as we have seen in our own time and our own
army, at the battle of Falkirk, against the re-
bels. All pannicks of this sort are unaccount-
able ; and if the old historians had known this,
we should have heard nothing of the apparition
hovering in the air which occasioned the defeat of
the King's army ; because no other reason is assign-
ed for this strange appearance, than the impreca-
tions of an hermit, whose cow had been driven a-
way by some of the soldiers, and that others had
in their march broke open a church and carried a-
way the communion plate. If the reader is dis-
posed to believe, that these were acts of villany
atrocious enough to require a miraculous interpo-
sition,

sition, and a slaughter of three thousand three hundred men, the story of the apparition will not be deemed incredible. It will serve however to shew the credulity of the age; and with what tales of ignorance and superstition the Monkish writers imposed upon the world; and it has thus far its use in the present history.

FOGARTHACH. The Monarch of Ireland being slain in this battle, **FOGARTHACH**, a descendent of **HUGH** the second, succeeded to the throne, which he filled only for a year and a few months; being killed in battle by **KINETH**, another descendent of the same **HUGH**, who obtained the government in his room. His reign of three years, when he met with the same fate from his successor a son of **LONGSEACH**, has no other event recorded in it: and though **FLAITHERTACH** enjoyed the sovereignty after him for seven years, and died a natural death, yet we hear of nothing in that peaceful reign relating to church or state, but that the Monarch, being tired of the cares and pomp of royalty, had a short time before his death resigned the crown and turned Monk. The great zeal of those times was chiefly spent in retirement, shutting themselves up in Monasteries, and devoting themselves to God and to ecclesiastical contemplations. The King being therefore possessed with the enthusiasm so much in fashion, was struck no doubt with the appearance of such transcendent humility, in deserting a throne to become a Monk.

HUGH fourth, of the same Niallian lineage, succeeded him in the sovereignty; which he possessed amidst great disturbances and dissensions for nine years, and was then slain in battle. The Boromean tribute revived the old dispute, and occasioned another fierce engagement in this reign; in which the Monarch and some of his chief commanders were wounded, the Prince of Leinster and

and the first Nobility of the province were killed, and most of that army were destroyed. The wound which the King of Ireland had received proved not to be mortal: but his life was protracted only to fight another battle with his successor, who was impatient for the sovereignty; and in this battle HUGH the fourth lost his life.

DONALD the third, of the same descent from DONAL. the hero NIALL, ascended the throne he aspired III. A.D. after: and though he enjoyed it twenty years and 743. died a natural death, taking no part in the several battles that were fought as usual among the provinces by contending Princes, yet there is no reign more barren of historical facts. The deaths of some saints, and of some renowned heroes in these battles, make up all its history; and nothing more important or more particular is related. On the death of DONALD, NIALL a son of the Monarch NIALL FEARGALL mentioned in this book, obtained the II. crown. Many dreadful earthquakes, and a raging famine throughout the Island, which destroyed the inhabitants in great numbers, are the principal events recorded in this reign. Indeed, except two battles fought by some of the Princes, and the deaths of a few eminent men, they are the only events we meet with, till we are told of a pilgrimage the Monarch made to the Abbey of Iona, when he had reigned seven years; and who, being carried away with the ignorant and unaccountable zeal of the times, quitted the throne and turned Monk in that Abbey, where he died and was buried. How much soever this humor might flatter the weakness of human nature, it was one of those delusions of which piety we see is capable. For a Prince born to a throne, and formed by nature and education to govern happily, is as much obliged to continue in that station, until providence disables or removes him from it, as he is to preserve his

life; and though by turning Monk he may shew that he has a sort of humility, yet it is not that which is taught us by reason or religion; and his merit consists more in a fear of doing ill than a desire of doing good.—But to proceed. His predecessor DONALD died at the same place on a visit to the shrine of COLUM CILL the founder of that Abbey in North Britain: and they were probably buried both under one tomb, as BUCHANAN tells us there is one there with this inscription, “*Tumulus Regum Hiberniæ.*”

Do- On the abdication of NIALL surnamed the Clou-
NOGH. dy, DONOGH or DONCHADHA the son of DONALD the third ascended the throne: and though his reign was continued twenty seven years, not a battle fought, not a saint's nor a hero's death, no not a single event is recorded in it; except that the Danes now first invaded and spoiled some of the coast of Ireland, and that the Monarch died a natural death. In so long a reign it is impossible but that many things must have occurred both in church and state, that were worthy of a place in the history of those times. The want of these materials is itself a convincing proof, that we have little more than annals or registers of the succession and genealogies of their Kings, extracted from the histories that were deposited in their archives; and that those valuable originals were destroyed at different times in the rage of plunder by their enemies. At the same time it must be observed, that this is so far from being an objection to the genuineness of what remains, that it rather demonstrates how scrupulous succeeding historians were of adding a syllable of their own where so much room was left for invention and imposition.

The invasion of the Danes—which began in the last Monarch's reign, and which opened a way to the conquest of some parts of the island, of which they

they enjoyed a share about three hundred years—being a very remarkable epocha in the Irish history, shall make the subject of another book : And as this is a proper resting place, and will give the least interruption to the story, I will here give an account of the eminent men of Ireland, who flourished from the time of the introduction of Christianity by S. PATRICK, to the arrival of the Danes and Normans; which makes a period of three hundred and seventy years. The reader, however, is not to expect, that this account will contain all the names which are celebrated for their greatness in the Irish annals. For the judgments of men are so different, through the power of prejudice, and of the fashion of the times on the human mind, that the same actions which would incur our contempt and censure, in the opinion of those who wrote their story, make them great men and saints. But as learning was at a low ebb, and in very few hands, at this period, the writers who made a figure in it will deserve some remembrance.

Of PATRICK, the great Apostle of Ireland, enough hath been said already; neither need any thing to be added about the celebrated CATHILL or CATHALD mentioned above. The only man therefore of eminence enough to be recorded in this history, who lived in the fifth century, was SEDULIUS, a Poet, an Orator, and a Divine, and who, being educated from his infancy under HILDEBERT an Archbishop, being well versed in the Scriptures, and most accomplished in the learning of the age, for his farther improvement travelled into France and Italy, visited some parts of Asia, and returning through Rome, was greatly distinguished for his extraordinary learning. He wrote many Latin books in prose, a Paschal song in metre, consisting of four books, fourteen books on

S. PAUL's Epistles in prose, an Hymn on CHRIST's miracles, and two books on the same in prose, with several others, of which we have not the titles.

The eminent men of the sixth century are not much more numerous than of the last; unless we should absurdly take into the account, all the writers who have published any thing, be it little or much, at that time in Ireland. COLUM GILL or COLUMBE, mentioned in this book, deserves further notice, as one of the chief pillars of the Irish Church. He was born of a noble family, and founded a monastery in a forest, which was called the Field of Oaks. We have seen upon what occasion he went into North Britain, where, by his doctrine and good example, he converted the Pictish nation to the Christian faith. During his residence in that country, he built the famous monastery of Iona, called also "Huy," and "Y-Columkill," of which he was himself the first Abbot; and which was a great while the burial place of the Scottish Kings, and many eminent saints. Almost all the Churches in the north of England, as well as the Churches in Ireland, were for many years supplied from these two monasteries with Bishops and Priests. The time of celebrating Easter, which he kept after the custom of his ancestors, and which was contrary to the custom of the Church of Rome, he gave in charge to his successors; and it continued to be observed in the Church of Ireland above two hundred years after his death. He wrote a Rule for the Monks, which is called after his name; the Life of St. PATRICK, and four Hymns on different subjects.

BRIDGET, though a Lady, must not be omitted in a Catalogue of the eminent people of Ireland in this century. She was born in the county of Louth; and, if the writers of her life are to be credited,

credited, she was one of the greatest ornaments of the Church and nation: and her memory and name are accordingly had in reverence among the vulgar Irish to this day. She lived for the most part at Kildare, in a nunnery of her own erection, of which she was the Abbess: but so many pious virgins were excited by her example, and desired to live under her direction, that she was obliged to erect several other convents in different parts of the island for her disciples; so that in a short time Ireland was full of religious houses of S. BRIDGET. The reputation of her sanctity, and of her power of working miracles, made Kildare so much frequented, that the many buildings erected about the nunnery during her life formed a town; which in time became so considerable as to be the place of the Cathedral and of the Episcopal See. She wrote a Rule for the Nuns of her order, an Epistle in rhyme to a friend to dissuade him from travel, a poem on the virtues of S. PATRICK, and on the desires of the pious. In order to do the greatest honour to her memory, the religious women of that time invented a perpetual fire, which they consecrated under the name of S. BRIDGET's fire; and which, through the connivance of the Bishops of Kildare, was kept burning till the year twelve hundred and twenty—seven hundred years after her death—when Archbishop LOUNDES caused it to be put out, to remove all occasion of superstition about it.

CONGALL was the founder of the famous monastery of Bangor, near the Eastern Sea; and such vast multitudes of Monks resorted to it for the sake of learning and religion, that he was obliged to erect several others in different parts, and had no less than three thousand of these Ecclesiasticks at one time under his government. He wrote Institutes for these, which are still extant; the Acts

of his contemporary S. COLUM; and some Epistles.

At the head of the eminent men of Ireland, in the seventh century, must be placed COLUMBA, a native of Leinster, who applied himself to learning, and made a great progress in it in his youth. His school education being finished, he went into another province, and put himself under the care of the venerable SILENUS, renowned for a happy talent of instructing his scholars; under whom COLUMBA so much improved himself, that he attained an extraordinary degree of skill in explaining the Scriptures. He then entirely forsook the world, according to the humour of that age, and became a Monk under CONGALL, in the Abby of Bangor; where he wasted life for several years. Tired however at last, and being made for more active scenes, he acquainted the Abbot with his desires of propagating the Gospel in foreign countries; and CONGALL knowing his great abilities, and approving his inclination, recommended twelve more of his house to be the partners of his labours and the companions of his travels. With these he passed over first into England, where he continued some time with great reputation and success; as the reader, if he pleases, may see in my English History [a]. Being disgusted however, with the contests that he met with here about the celebration of Easter, and the ecclesiastical tonsure, he went with his companions into Burgundy; and fixing on an old ruinous castle for the place of their residence, they fitted it up, and practised in it all the exercises of their profession. The fame of this house for curing diseases, as well as piety, drew abundance of people from all parts. In the same barren desert he found another old castle,

[a] Eccles. Hist. Vol. I. p. 85.—91.

called Luxenil, which had once been very strong; and his disciples encreasing fast upon him, he converted it into a monastery, which soon became a model for several others. He built another at Fontaine, and subjected this and the first to that of Luxenil, as being the largest of the three. Hence arose the original of Priories, which being founded by Abbeyes were subordinate to them. He adhered to the custom of the Irish Church in celebrating Easter; which being opposite to the Roman observed in France, acquired him the censure of some of the neighbouring clergy. He wrote several letters to justify his practise, from which he would not recede: and for his obstinacy in this particular, notwithstanding the sanctity of his life, and the good he did, he was ejected out of his Abbey, which he had possessed twenty years, and banished out of the country. After travelling with his companions through the greatest part of France, he retired at length into Italy: and built the monastery of Bobi near Naples, upon Mount Appennine, where he died in a short time after. He wrote several Commentaries on the Psalter, a book against the Arians, several books on the Paschal controversy, thirteen Homilies, Epistles, Poems, a Rule for Monks, two Letters to Pope BONIFACE, and a modest Apology for himself; being cited to appear at a provincial synod in France, about the time of the celebration of Easter, which he observed, as it hath been said, after the manner of the Irish Church.

The next in the order of time, though not inferior to the Abbot in worth and greatness, was Bishop AIDAN, who came from the same monastery at Iona, and whom the historians have ranked among the natives of Ireland. To the pious care and learning of this Prelate, the conversion of the Northumbrians in our own country was entirely

owing. At the same time that **BEDB** gives a great character of him, as a man of wonderful humility, great zeal and probity, and goodness of heart, he adds that his zeal was without knowledge, because he kept the feast of Easter not as the Church of Rome did. But as much a Schismatick as he was, nothing can exceed the commendations which he hath given him for holiness of life. He governed the Church of Northumberland for almost seventeen years; erected schools for the instruction of men and children in learning and religion; wrote Commentaries on the Scriptures, Sermons, and Homilies; and was in short an honour to his country, a great benefactor to the English nation, and an ornament to the age in which he lived. But I must refer the reader for a fuller account of this excellent Prelate to the second book of my Ecclesiastical History; where he will meet with the character that **AIDAN** merited.

FINAN, another native of Ireland, was called from the same monastery of Iona, to succeed **AIDAN** his countryman in the See of Holy Island, at the mouth of the river Lindis, in the kingdom of Northumberland. Here he had the honour to convert **SIGIBERT**, the third King of the East Saxons, and the retinue which he had with him at the court of **Oswy**; and they were baptized at a town where the King resided. His instructions had the same success with a Prince of Mercia, and his attendants, with whom he sent some of his clergy to convert that kingdom; and they did it with success. The old controversy about Easter was still on foot; and as this good Bishop could not be brought to conform to the Roman custom, a countryman of his, who had been bred in France where that custom prevailed, was sent to him to represent the reasons alledged by the church of Rome

Rome in the Paschal controversy; but he was not a match for FINAN; who, besides his superiority in parts and learning, was a man of warmth and spirit, who grew disgusted with the dispute, and more confirmed in his own opinions. He wrote a book on the ancient usage of the Passover, and was a very exemplary Christian as well as an able learned man.

FURSEUS a Monk, according to the humour of those times, having founded three monasteries in his native country of Ireland, came voluntarily into this country to preach the Gospel; in which he met with great success among the inhabitants of the East Angles. BEDE extolls him very highly and SIGEBERT their King, already a Christian, gave him such a reception, as the zeal of the man and his cause deserved. He built a monastery in Suffolk, now called Burgh Castle, which was largely endowed at several times by the East Anglian Kings; and where-ever he saw the Gospel was wanted he propagated it with equal piety and success. But some commotions arising in this country, he retired into France, and erected the monastery of Lagny in the diocese of Paris near the Sein. He wrote a book of the monastic life, so much then in fashion; and an Irish prophecy is ascribed to him.

DIUMA was another ecclesiastick of Ireland in this century who figured in the English church; and who, being consecrated by FINAN, was made Bishop of the Mercians and middle Angles, whom he governed prosperously for several years. The seat of his Bishoprick was fixed at Lichfield, and his name hath the first place in the successions of the Bishops of that See. Besides the humour which then prevailed of seeking out retirement in a monastic life, there were so many men of theological learning at that time in Ireland, that the natives

natives were obliged to swarm out into other countries to exercise their talents, and where little learning of this kind was to be found.

Among many others, ARBOGAST an Irishman went into Alsace, a stranger, and an hermit; and in a sacred grove there, where Hagenau now stands, he built an Oratory, in which it is said that he served God continually in prayer and fasting. Convinced, however, as well he might be, that this was a lazy sort of piety, and that his talents were given him for other purposes, he quitted his cell, and instructed the inhabitants of the country in the knowledge of God, reprehending their idolatry and confuting their wild opinions. By this means he became known to the reigning Prince who appointed him to the See of Stralsburg in Germany; where, having governed the Diocese with great reputation for twelve years, he died.

ADAMNANUS an Irishman and Abbot of Iona, being sent by the North Britons upon some business to the court of ALFRED King of Northumberland, was there made a convert to the catholick Easter; and returning home endeavoured to convince his Monks of their former error, but failed in the attempt. Upon this disappointment he returned to Ireland his native country; where in a little time he brought over most of those who were not in subjection to the monastery of Iona, to the Roman custom of keeping Easter. Encouraged by this success he went back again to his Abbey in North Britain, and made a fresh attempt upon the Monks; but he could not prevail as long as he lived to introduce the Roman custom into the house. He wrote the lives of COLUM CILL, and of a Queen of the Franks; several poems; a description of the Holy Land; some canons, epistles, a book concerning the true Passover, and a rule for Monks.

CUTHBERT was the son of a petty Irish King ; and being left by his mother in the Abbey of Mailrofs while she went on a pilgrimage to Rome, he made such a proficiency in literature by his parts and application as gave him a taste for the sort of life he found there ; for there was little learning in any other. Having passed through the offices of Monk and Prior of his Convent with great honour, he was persuaded by Bishop EATTA, who had a great love for CUTHBERT, to pass his time with him at Holy Island ; but affecting a solitary life he shut himself up in the little island of Farn, about three leagues distant in the sea. Here he lived, when he was elected Bishop of Hexham in a synod held by Archbishop THEODORE ; and out of an excess of modesty and lowliness of mind, he was the only person that opposed his own election. The Bishops who judged him worthy of the episcopal character, sent many letters and messages to him from the synod ; but it was not without the utmost difficulty that they could prevail on him to leave his solitude, and to assume the weighty care and important function of a Bishop. He was a man of great elocution ; of a graceful presence ; and what is above all, he afforded an example in his own practice for others to imitate. With a truly “ nolo episcopari ” he was dragged to the Bishoprick of Holy Island, which his friend EATTA quitted for him, and was translated himself, to Hexham. But no station of life could work a change in the temper of his mind : for in two years after he quitted the mitre, and returned to his former solitude in the isle of Farn, where he ended his days. He wrote a book of the orders of his church ; the precepts of a regular life ; and monastic institutes delivered by him to his Monks.

I shall close this catalogue of the eminent men of Ireland in the seventh century with an account
of

of COLEMAN; who after going to study at Iona, and being a Monk of that Abbey, succeeded FINAN in the See of Holy Island in the Northern parts of England; a man famous for his contests with the Romish Bishops and Clergy here, about the feast of Easter and the ecclesiastical tonsure. He was the leader in a conference held at Whitby by King OSWY on this subject, on the side of those who observed their Easter only on the first day of the week, after the fourteenth day of the first month; in which they pretended to follow the tradition and example of St. JOHN. The leader on the other side was WILFRID, a famous Prelate afterwards in the English church; and he pretended that their rule was that of St. PETER and St. PAUL, which was the first Sunday after the fourteenth day at evening, till the vernal equinox. As poor a controversy as this may seem to the reader at present, and as it always was in fact in itself, yet it is certain that it had been the occasion of a great deal of contention in the preceding ages of the church; and the consequence of it at this time in England was of the first importance to the Roman Missionaries, and to the jurisdiction of the See from whence they came. But this controversy not being agitated in Ireland, the reader is referred to the second book of my church history, if he desires to see the account of it drawn out at length.

This however was not the only matter of debate in the synod at which COLEMAN assisted by command of OSWY. The ecclesiastical Tonsure was another point in which the Irish differed from the Roman usage, and which was also to be discussed at this famous conference. To speak seriously, if there was not a dark side in human nature, and if experience did not teach us, that the zeal of good men does not often bear a true proportion to the subject

subject of it, one would wonder how an usage of such a ridiculous kind as this should creep into the church at all; and much more that it should ever be thought an article important enough to divide it. Who would believe if it were not certain, or who would relate it if historical truth did not oblige him, that there were men weak enough to raise and carry on a dispute with great warmth and violence, whether the tonsure of St. PETER, or the tonsure of St. PAUL, should be observed by the clergy; whether the whole head of an ecclesiastick should be shaved except a narrow circle in imitation of a crown of thorns, or whether only the top of the head in a circular manner; when neither of these apostles had said a word of either? But such men there were; and the peace of the church was disturbed about such trifles. These affairs having been debated with great heat in this synod, and the King having declared himself in favour of the Roman usages, COLEMAN threw up his Bishoprick in disgust, returned to his native country with some English and all the Irish whom he had brought hither, and spent the remainder of his life at Inisbofin. Here he built a monastery for the Monks who came over with him; but these not agreeing together, he erected another convent for the English at Mayo, who lived after the example of the antient fathers. He wrote a book in defence of his custom of keeping Easter; another of the tonsure of Ecclesiasticks; and an exhortation to the inhabitants of the Hebrides.

The eighth century produced but few eminent men, and of these only two deserve our notice: SEDULIUS the younger, who was present in a council held at Rome by Pope GREGORY the second, and who subscribed a decree against unlawful marriages, and was afterwards a Bishop in Spain.

He

He wrote there the history of the ancient Irish, and his manuscript was in the possession of Sir John Higgins, Physician to King PHILIP V. mentioned in the preface. The other great man was VIRGIL, a Philosopher and Mathematician of an illustrious family in Ireland; who travelling into France for his improvement, staid two years in the court of King PEPIN, by whom being greatly esteemed, he was recommended to the Bishoprick of Saltburgh, where he laid the foundation and erected the new Church. He wrote a discourse of the Antipodes against the received opinion of the ancients, who imagined the earth to be a plain, and the heavens to be somewhere joined to it: but in that age of ignorance, his philosophy served only to cover him with disgrace.

Having laid before the reader an account of the most eminent men of Ireland, who flourished in the four first centuries after the reception of Christianity, it may not be improper to conclude this book with some reflexions on the state of learning at that time, and on the usages and opinions which the age produced.—As little as there is to be said for the learning of those times, yet it would be a manifest injustice not to observe of Ireland, that it had at least as great a share of it, if not a greater, than any other country in Europe. Indeed it is evident from many testimonies, that it was the prime seat of learning to all Christendom; and that Missionaries from thence were sent in shoals into the continent, to convert the Heathen and confirm the Christian inhabitants. In these places also they set up schools; and in imitation of those academies which abounded in their own country, they laid the foundations of the most flourishing Universities. They taught the Saxons, Danes, and Picts, the use of letters, and converted the latter to Christianity by the preaching of COLUM CILL.

The

The English nation in particular, as the reader must be convinced, hath very great obligations to the memory of those good and able men, who, leaving their country and their friends, laid out their time, and the ease and comfort of their lives, to preach the gospel here. It must be owned indeed, on the other hand, that the doctrine of these ages was mixed up with a great alloy, wanting many degrees of its primitive purity and perfection; of which the opinions of celibacy, and monastic institutions, are an amazing instance. But this was the fault of the times, and not of the men.

Monasteries were then the only nurseries of discipline, and the chief schools of learning; and therefore wherever a bishoprick was erected a monastery was usually founded near the seat of it; as well for the habitation and support of the Bishop, as of those who were to attend religious offices in the cathedral, or to preach the Gospel in the neighbouring parishes. These bodies, properly speaking, were colleges of Priests: who, in after ages, were distinguished by the name of Secular Canons, and were under no vow of perpetual celibacy. Nor was this the case of those only who were settled in cathedral monasteries, but those also known by the name of Monks and Nuns were allowed to marry when they saw fit. But yet in the histories of those times, all these societies, as well such of them as were only bodies of Secular Canons, as the others properly so called and were much the greatest number, pass under the general name of Monasteries; which frequently misleads the reader to judge of those foundations by those of later ages. From such societies the Bishops were for the most part chosen; hither they retired as occasion or inclination led them, either for study or devotion; and from hence were drawn in general the lower orders of the clergy. It is therefore no wonder if they were

were possessed with a great esteem for the places of their education, and that they should magnify the perfections of the collegiate state and way of living. The wonder is, that they should magnify it so much, and that other men should credit them so far, as to be persuaded their salvation could be safe no where else: and from the infinite number of monasteries, abbeys, priories, and religious houses of all denominations, which swarmed over this island, one would imagine that they were thus persuaded. Relicks had their share too in the esteem of the people, as well as the use of images in the churches, the worship of which however was then unknown. The study of the holy Scriptures was yet thought a duty in all who were capable of it, and a critical knowledge in these writings esteemed the best qualification for the highest stations in the Church. The doctrines of Transubstantiation, and the worship of Saints, were not so much as thought of at that time; nor was the opinion of Purgatory wrought any further than the outlines: but the superstition of the age, and the credit which was given to miracles and visions, made it easy of introduction afterwards. These reflections will throw some light on the Irish church at this period, and enable the reader to perceive the errors which it had imbibed: And yet amidst the odd opinions, the unscriptural usages and rights, the ignorance, credulity, and superstition, which were preparing the way for still greater and more pernicious errors, if we would judge candidly, if we would judge truly of the foregoing period, we must allow that the doctrine of CHRIST and his Apostles, without any submission to the authority of the See of Rome, was at that time the standard of the Faith and discipline of the Church of Ireland. Let us be thankful that we live in an age of more light and knowledge.

THE
HISTORY
OF
IRELAND.

BOOK VIII.

SUCH a new scene of affairs in the Irish history opens in this book, by the repeated invasions of the Danes or Ostmen, that before we enter into particulars, it may be necessary to give the reader some account of these foreigners, who became in this age so formidable to all Europe, and particularly to Ireland, where they gained a settlement. It is not material to our purpose, whether what their own historians say of them is true, that they derive their origine from the Goths and Swedes, who, being sometimes divided, sent out all those colonies which after the decline of the Roman empire, over-ran the rest of Europe. It is sufficient to observe, that they were inhabitants of the Northern nations, distinguished by the countries of Denmark, Norway, Livonia, and other places; and that the names of Danes, Norwegians, Ostmen, and Easterlings, were common to them all, at least in Ireland.

HUGH
V.
A. D.
797.

HUGH V. As people increase and multiply very fast in the colder climates, so it was no unusual thing for Denmark and Norway to be so over-stocked with inhabitants, as that numerous colonies were obliged to swarm out to make room for others. The situation of their country, and the great plenty of all materials for shipping, with which it abounded, not only gave them an opportunity of equipping fleets, and becoming powerful by sea, but might also not improbably give a bias to their inclinations towards a naval course of life. When such people as these were obliged to abandon their country in the search of new habitations, and that not in single ships but in whole fleets, it is no wonder that they should plunder every vessel they met with, and ravage every coast at which they came; and therefore nothing was to be seen at sea but the Danish pirates. For the great booty made by the first adventurers, tempted even the richest and most powerful of their countrymen to try their fortunes in the same manner. They entered into associations in their maritime places for fitting out fleets to ravage foreign countries; much after the way that is now practised by the Barbary Corsairs; and to say the truth, as much more a polished people as we think ourselves, not much unlike what is done by us, and the French and Spaniards in time of war, in fitting out privateers to plunder trading-ships, whose property we have no other right to, than what we acquire by superior force. A method of carrying on war suitable enough to Savages, but abominable in Christians, or even in an humane and civilized people!—But to return.

The Danes at length were so accustomed to these piracies, and got such immense riches by them, that their Kings were sharers in their spoil, and their fleets were become national. Admirals and Generals were not only provided by the crown for

for these expeditions, but upon intelligence of extraordinary booty, the Kings themselves did not scruple to command their fleets in person. These were the fleets that made such devastation in England, and France Ireland, and that occasioned dreadful complaints of the miseries brought upon them by the northern nations. In different countries they had different appellations: they were called Normans, or Men of the North, by the inhabitants of France; in England most usually they were stiled Danes or Goths, and sometimes Norwegians, Juites, and Vandals; but in Ireland, they had for the most part the names of Danes or Ostmen, meaning men of the East.

It is easy to see from this account, that the first intent of the Danes, when they invaded the Irish coast, was only plunder. Their manner of making war therefore was not like regular troops, or a brave enemy, but like public robbers, pillaging every place they came to, and sacking and destroying what they could not carry away. As they were divided into several independent bodies, according to the opportunities which they had of being equipped, it happened often that one band of them was no sooner gone than another came, by which means the inhabitants had scarce any respite from their incursions. For the island being liable to be attacked on every side alike, they were obliged to be on their guard at all times, and in every place. Another great inconvenience arose to the Irish, in having an enemy to deal with whose leaders had no authority one over another, which made it impracticable to enter into any treaty with them; unless they had had as many treaties as there were different parties of the enemy. Not was this the worst circumstance of the Danish invasions: for the Irish Princes, being always at variance almost with one another, instead of uniting

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their

HUGH V. their forces to make head against the common enemy, would often take an advantage of their neighbours whom the Danes had weakened, and complete their desolation by entering their territories with fire and sword.

Whosoever looks backward and sees what proofs the Irish had always given of their courage and warlike achievements among each other ; or if he considers the figure they made abroad among the Picts, the English and the French, will be convinced that the poor defence which they made against the Danes for two hundred years, notwithstanding their many encounters in which they never lost their courage, humanly speaking, was owing to nothing else but their own intestine divisions, to which this unhappy island seemed always to have been devoted by the hand of Heaven. Having thus prepared the way for the better understanding of the sequel, it is time to enter upon the particulars of the history, and to resume it where we left off in the preceding book.

Mt.

O FLA-

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LYNCH.

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LINGSH.

On the death of **DONAGH** or **DUNCHADDA**, the preceding Monarch of Ireland, **HUGH** the fifth, a son of the last **NIALL**, ascended the throne. In what manner he spent the first year of his reign, or what was the course of affairs in church and state in Ireland during that period, we have no account. But in the second we are told of a very formidable invasion of the Danes with a fleet of fifty sail, which disembarked a numerous army on the western coast of Munster. As soon as intelligence was brought of their landing to the King of that province, he collected the provincial troops with all possible expedition, and marched towards the enemy in order to give them battle, before they had time to do any mischief. Whether the numbers, or the skill and courage, of the invaders were inferior to those of the Irish, we are not informed ;

formed ; but after a desperate and bloody action HUGH V.
 the Danes were so thoroughly vanquished, that
 they fled with great confusion and precipitancy to
 their ships ; leaving above four hundred of their
 countrymen dead in the field of battle. The ap-
 proach of night prevented a pursuit and favoured
 their flight ; or the slaughter in the retreat would
 probably have surpassed that of the action.

About the same time another attempt was made
 by these roving foreigners on the province of Ulster
 and the Hebrides, into which they carried the de-
 solation of fire and sword : they destroyed the
 Abbey of Bangor, killed the Bishop and the reli-
 gious of the house, and plundered the rich shrine
 of CONGALL. The King and people of Ulster be-
 ing enraged at these cruel and unjust proceedings,
 gathered all their force together, engaged the ene-
 my with a bravery exasperated to a degree of fury,
 killed twelve hundred upon the spot, and drove the
 rest out of the kingdom. The Norwegians being
 a people of the same piratical disposition, and hear-
 ing of the great wealth which their neighbours the
 Danes had acquired in Ireland, resolved to try
 their fortune in the same hostile manner, and made
 an attempt on Leinster. The inhabitants of this
 province, who had heard of the cruelty and vic-
 lence which the other invaders exercised, were so
 struck with terror at their arrival, that they
 thought of nothing but saving their lives and their
 light effects ; and left the country to an enemy who
 had no mercy. The enemy having plundered all
 the coast on which they landed, instead of returning
 home with their booty as the Danes had been wont
 to do, encouraged by the hopes of adding greatly
 to it, they marched up into the country, pillaging
 every house and place they came to. But by this
 time the Irish were recovered out of their pannick ;
 and the people of Leinster and the Momonians

HUGH V joining their strength together, were more than a match for these plunderers ; who apprehended no opposition, and were not a little encumbered with their booty, which was as dear to them as their lives. In this situation they were attacked by the people of the country, with their usual valour; and after a very obstinate engagement, defeated with the loss of seven hundred slain in battle, a thousand in the pursuit, and all their booty.

Nevertheless as Ireland was so much superior in wealth and fertility to the barren inhospitable clime of these invaders, another fleet of sixty sail made a descent on the province of Munster, when **FEIDLIM** was its King. The usual barbarities practised on such occasions, were not wanting: the religious houses, the monasteries, and churches, underwent the common fate of being plundered and burnt ; and the miserable inhabitants were robbed or put to the sword. In return however they met with no better success than many of their predecessors : they were at length repulsed by the Irish with a very considerable slaughter of their troops, and retreated in great confusion and hurry to their fleet. Many other attacks were made in different parts of the island, during the reign of this Monarch by these Northern rovers ; but if a detail was to be given of each, the reader would meet with nothing but a repetition of the same barbarities, which are disagreeable to hear, and the same return of slaughter from the Irish, which perhaps may not be credited. The historians assure us, that these calamities were foreseen by a prophetic spirit long before they came upon their country by some of the clergy. But there was no occasion for a spirit of prophecy to foresee, that a people who were embroiled in perpetual contests with one another of the most fatal kind, who had thrown off all appearances of decorum, and were wholly profligate

ligate in their manners, had no reason to expect the protection of a righteous providence. A torrent of vice and prophaneness had overspread the land, says the historian: and was it not reasonable, was it not natural to expect, that, according to the moral government of the world, they must feel the effects of the wrath of Heaven?

Notwithstanding the incursions of the merciless invaders above mentioned, which had now been very frequent for almost twenty years past, yet the island continued subject to civil discord as much as it had done before; and the Monarch and petty Princes of the country, instead of opposing the common enemy with their united strength, were perpetually quarrelling among themselves; and not being restrained from these animosities by the motives either of policy or religion, they laid themselves open to the force and violence of their enemies. The Boromean tribute was still as much contested, and with as fatal effects as ever. HUGH the Monarch insisted on what he thought were the rights of the crown of Ireland; and the people of Leinster never lost the idea of its being a wicked exaction and refused to pay it. Harassed and devastated as their country had been by several parties of Norwegian robbers, it was not in a condition to withstand the army of the King of Ireland; who, on the refusal of the tribute, entered their province in an hostile manner; putting the inhabitants that fell in the way to the sword with the cruelty of a conqueror, and reduced the country to the last extremities. Whilst the remembrance of these calamities was yet fresh in the minds of the people, they were terrified with dreadful tempests by sea and land. A storm of lightning had laid dead above a thousand people in one territory; and the sea bearing down its banks in another, overflowed a great

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HUGH V. great tract of land which could never afterwards be recovered. To add to the terror of these natural evils, almost all the islands in the neighbourhood of Ireland and which were connected with it in commerce, were totally spoiled by different bands of the Northern Pirates.

A. D. 815. But the greatest attempt that the Danes made on Ireland, and which was the most fatal in its effects, was made at this time by **TURGESIUS** with a vast fleet of ships and a surprizing number of his countrymen. The historians are not agreed in their account of this famous hero ; some asserting that he was the King, and others that he was the son of a King of Norway. The difference however is immaterial : he was a man of great personal courage, but, what is very uncommon to that character, of a savage brutal disposition. No sooner was his arrival notified to the Danes, who were then in their little parties ravaging about the island under several leaders, than they proclaimed their joy with the loudest acclamations ; and with one consent united under him as their General. Though all their incursions hitherto had been with no other view than for the sake of plunder, yet there is no doubt but at this time they formed a design, which afterwards they executed, of making a settlement in the country.

Whatever were their intentions, it is certain that they renewed their devastations with so much vigour, under the conduct of this leader, that they soon over-ran and spoiled the northern half of the island. He divided his army which was very numerous into different bodies ; in order to strike a terror at once in different places, and to oblige the natives to divide their strength and so make it of little use. The same method he took along the coast with his fleet ; dividing it into three squadrons, and ordering all his forces both by sea and
land

land to spare neither age nor sex, but to ravage HUGH V.
 with fire and sword wherever they came; that their
 cruelties might drive the inhabitants to despair,
 and that they might fix themselves without the ha-
 zard of being dispossessed. Thus the primate and
 his college of clergy at Ardmagh were plundered
 and driven away, and TURGESIUS settled himself
 in the palace; which he possessed with the revenues
 belonging to that church as long as he lived. But
 it is unnecessary and would be endless to relate the
 particulars of the desolation committed by these
 barbarians; and notwithstanding their ferocity,
 there is no other way of accounting for their suc-
 cess against the Irish—a people bred to war from
 their cradle, and of a courage invincible—but by
 the dissensions and animosities which the Princes
 and chiefs of Ireland were perpetually fomenting
 among themselves: owing perhaps as much to
 their aristocratical form of government, which
 gave them so great a share of power, as to their
 own irascible disposition. Thus instead of uniting
 against the savage Danes, the Monarch of Ireland
 carried his arms against some of his own people at
 this very time, when the enemy were in possession
 of almost half the island; and after a troublesome
 reign of two and twenty years, HUGH the fifth
 was slain in battle.

CONNOR the son of DONOGH, was the next that CONNOR.
 ascended the throne; and his whole reign was A. D.
 made uneasy by the cruel ravages of the Danes. 819.
 Wherever they came, they were sure of being
 welcome to the weakest party; and none of the
 factions made any scruple to join with them,
 though the common enemy, whom they all hated
 worse than death, in order to get uppermost. Such
 is the accursed spirit of faction, and such are the
 evils it entails upon mankind! The new Monarch,
 grown no wiser by these evils than his predecessors,
instead

CON-
NOR.

instead of using his endeavours to reduce all in harmony, and then with the whole force of Ireland to dispossess and drive the invaders out of the land encouraged faction by his own example. He has taken some offence against the inhabitants of a part of Ulster; and though the enemy were then in the bowels of his kingdom, encreasing in strength and conquest every day, he drew out the royal army against his subjects on the plains of Tailtean, where they offered him battle, and made a great slaughter of those troops, which he might have led perhaps with success in the preservation of the rights and liberties of his country.

Amidst this general infatuation which had possessed the Irish, the people of Leinster seem the first who came to themselves: they saw the progress the Danes were making over the island; and they saw it with grief and terror. The old Irish spirit was roused; and they were resolved to give a check to the career of these invaders, or to die nobly like themselves in the attempt. With this view they raised all the forces they could get in the province; but even in this undertaking, which called for every hand and every heart that was truly Irish, they appear to have been entirely unsupported from the other provinces. They marched however with an intrepid resolution against the main body of the Danes, and a bloody action ensued. All the skill and valour which each side possessed, was on each side exerted; and the victory remained doubtful a long time. But at last, being wearied by such a hot and vigorous contest, and overpowered by numbers, the Provincialists gave way; and a dreadful carnage followed them in their retreat. Had they been supported, as they ought to have been, by the royal army and the troops of the other provinces, in all probability their fate would have

have been the fate of the Danes ; and they might, ^{CON-}
in the consequence of such a defeat, have exter- ^{NOR.}
minated the whole race then on the island. But the
time of their deliverance was not yet at hand. The
Danes pursued their victory with greater violence
than before, perhaps on account of this opposition.
The churches and religious houses which they
broke into, seizing the consecrated vessels, and
killing or driving away the members belonging to
them, were not the only objects of their rage and
plunder. The universities at Ardmagh, at Lis-
more, at Clonard and Cashell, with all the inferior
academies that fell in their way, felt the destroying
sword and fire of these barbarians : they had no
learning themselves, and they paid no regard to
learning in other men : nothing civil or sacred e-
scaped their rage ; but without any discrimination
of people or profession, they swept all before them
with a cruel and unrelenting fury.

At the time of these calamities, FELIM or FEID-
LIM, who had been king of Munster many years,
entered into Holy Orders without laying aside his
crown ; and presided as Archbishop over the
southern half of the kingdom. This is the first
instance in which the Royal and Episcopal characters
were sustained at the same time by the same per-
son. For though some of their Kings had been en-
thusiasts enough to turn Monks, yet they laid aside
the purple and bid adieu to the world. As much
however as FELIM was possessed with the spirit of
devotion then in fashion, the spirit of power and
domination was not extinguished in him : and we
know that such contrarieties are to be seen in hu-
man nature every day. As one of these was natu-
ral to the mind of FELIM, and the other was ac-
quired, it is no wonder that he made the last sub-
servient to the first, or dependent on it. Thus
notwithstanding his episcopal character, the inha-
bitants

CON-
NOR,

bitants of the northern half of the kingdom having incurred his displeasure on some account or other, which is not mentioned, he carried his arms into that part of the country, miserably harrassed the natives, and compleated the desolation which was left unfinished by the foreign enemy. At a time when they were struggling for life and liberty with these invaders, this was a step repugnant to policy and humanity even in his character of King of Munster : but in a man, who had added the Mitre to the Crown, and who should have shewed in his example the peaceableness of his religion, the depredations he committed were highly culpable. When he had reigned twenty seven years over the province of Munster, wearied out, it is probable, by the calamities of his country, he laid aside both his dignities of King and Archbishop, and retiring wholly from the world, withdrew into a wilderness; where he lived the life of a poor hermit, till death put an end to his superstitious folly. This was enough however, in those days, to acquire him the reputation of a great Saint; and the annals of Ulster have recorded him, as one of the best and wisest anchorets they had. The historians have been kind enough to the memory of CONNOR the King of Ireland, to suppose, because he died a natural death when he had sat fourteen years on the throne, that being unable to redress the miseries of his country, brought upon it by the Danes, he died of grief. But there is nothing appears in the reign of this Monarch to warrant any such supposition; and from what is there said of him, unless he had changed his way of thinking in that respect, he seems not to have laid the misfortunes of his country to heart so much as he ought to have done.

On the death of CONNOR, NIALL the Third, ^{NIALL.}
 a son of HUGH the Fifth, ascended the throne: ^{III.}
 and as though this poor country was doomed to ^{A. D.}
 be the perpetual theatre of civil discord, the new ^{833.}
 monarch, though he saw the Danes were still en-
 creasing in strength and power, yet instead of mak-
 ing it his first business to check their progress, and
 to unite the force of the whole kingdom against
 them, invaded the Province of Leinster with a nu-
 merous army, in order to controul the freedom of
 election, and to impose a King upon them of his
 own nomination. No wonder when the Danes
 were thus unmolested, that they should carry on
 their depredations in a dreadful manner: nor is it
 much less to be wondered at, that the success of
 these ravages should encourage other foreigners,
 of the same piratical disposition, to try their for-
 tune in this island. Accordingly some of the
 Normans fitted out a fleet of transports in this
 reign, with which they arrived at the mouth of the
 Boyne; and soon after another party of the same
 people came with forty sail into the river Liffey.
 It is said, that these invaders exceeded, if possible,
 the savage Danes and Norwegians in their military
 executions. They not only devoured the little
 which the Danish locusts had left upon their coasts,
 but they made incursions far into the province,
 and over-ran almost all the county of Dublin with
 fire and sword. The Irish at this time appear to
 have been dispirited, and to have lost that fierce
 and warlike intrepidity, for which they had been
 renowned through many ages.

But the progress of these new comers alarmed the
 Danes; who saw that their conquests which they
 were not settled in, were like to be snatched out of
 their hands; and that unless they could put an im-
 mediate stop to the success of the Normans, the
 natives, whom they had incensed with a course of
 ravages

NIALL ravages for many years, would certainly take vengeance and join against them. Under this apprehension, which was a very reasonable one, **TURGESIUS** collected all his scattered forces into one body; and with all possible expedition, marched against the Normans. Whether the Irish had any intelligence of this design, or whether they chose to sit still and see their common enemy cut one another's throats, or whether no application was made to them by either party, we are not informed. We only know, that a battle was fought between the Danes and Normans, with a dreadful slaughter on both sides; and after a doubtful contest of many hours, the Danes made such an impression as determined the fortune of the day. The flying Normans were pursued all along the banks of the Shannon to the sea-side; nor did the slaughter cease 'till they were on board their ships.

The Danes, being animated with this success, and finding the country open and abandoned by the Irish, renewed their conquests: and in order to secure themselves, as well against any revolt of the natives, as against the Normans, or other foreigners, they began to build fortifications; and these are some of the oldest monuments of human industry that are now to be seen in Ireland. They still retain the name of Danish Rathes or Mounts; and they are not more remarkable for their antiquity than for their towering height, their prodigious magnificence, and the regularity of their figure. There are other artificial hills thrown up also by these people, but not so high nor so large, and are without ditches round them; and these were the sepulchres of their generals and chiefs in war.

The Irish seeing these fortifications carrying on, and perceiving from hence, that the Danes intended to make a settlement in their country, if not a conquest of it, at length recovered something of their

their ancient spirit, and roused themselves from their insensibility. MALSECHLIN—for the better sound, says WARE, called MALACHY—the King of Meath, being ashamed of the tame submission and despondency of his countrymen, collected together all the forces he could, marched against the main body of the Danish army, and pushed them with so much vigour, as to give them a signal overthrow. One of their greatest generals, and seven hundred men were killed in the action: and this might have convinced the Irish, that if they would lay aside their dissensions, and unite against the enemy, they had it in their power to drive them out of the island.

It is impossible, one would imagine, but they must always have been so convinced: but nothing could induce them to lay aside the pretensions of their several families, and to unite with harmony for their common safety. A coward was looked upon among the Irish as the most ignominious of all characters: and their opinion of martial valour, which was carried to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, made it extremely difficult to bring about a reconciliation after a quarrel. For as each party dreaded the name of a coward, if they made the first overtures of a peace, so no overtures were made at all; but the quarrel continued from father to son, and very seldom ended but with the entire extinction of one of the families. It is no wonder that a people with such a natural disposition, accustomed from their infancy to fear nothing, and animated by the example of their fathers and friends upon all occasions, should encounter dangers or death with the greatest intrepidity. An elective form of government to the monarchy and the provinces, where so many families had pretensions that were nearly equal, meeting with such a
fierce

NIALL fierce and vindictive habit of mind and manners, **III.** not only generated and maintained a spirit of faction, but it was a spirit of faction that was unappeasable. If the reader will attend to these reflexions in their full extent, he will find a clue that will unravel all the mazes of civil discord, so fatal to this unhappy island for many ages ; and which at the time I am now writing of was the chief cause of those miseries which the Danes inflicted.

As broken and disunited however as they were among themselves, they could not be brought to submit to these foreigners without compulsion ; and many battles were fought in which the old Irish valour prevailed over their enemies. The Princes of the two provinces of Munster and Leinster joined their troops together ; and attacked the army of the invaders with such irresistible fury, that the Earl of TOMAIR Prince Royal of Denmark, and twelve hundred men were left dead in the field of battle, and a general rout of the Danish forces ensued. In short so many attacks were made upon them by the natives with success, that finding their fortune begin to abate they sent for a reinforcement ; and when they had thus recovered their strength, they laid siege to the city of Dublin and took it by storm. Here they built a Castle, which not only served for their own defence, but from which they could ravage all the adjacent country. The same use they made of all their other garrisons, to the terror and annoyance of all the inhabitants in their neighbourhood ; for the whole land around them was made a desert like an uninhabited wilderness. The reader will be apt to ask what the Monarch of Ireland was about all this time ; having heard nothing of him since his accession to the throne, and his imposing a King upon the people of Leinster. How is it possible he could sit still amidst these

these repeated cruelties committed upon his country, though they did not reach him, one is at a loss to know : but nothing more is said of him in a reign of thirteen years, than that he plundered and destroyed two inconsiderable territories at the head of a numerous army.

Awakened however at last from his dream of safety, ill becoming a Monarch in his situation, and above all an Irish Monarch in whom a warlike spirit is inherent and invincible, he engaged the Danes in a pitched battle, and gained a complete victory. It were pity that this Monarch had not either sooner shaken off his negligence, and acted up to his character in the defence of his country, or that he had lived a little longer to have completed the overthrow of the Danes, and to have driven them out of the island. But in a short time after this victory, coming to the banks of the river Callain with a design to ford it, and finding it swelled to a great height with some heavy rains, he ordered one of his retinue to try the depth of it, before he ventured in with all his train : but the stream being very rapid and washing him off his horse, and those whom the King had ordered to his succour not being willing to risque their lives, NIALL himself resolved to hazard his own person in order to save him. With this view he pushed his horse boldly to the side of the river where the man was drowning ; but the ground being undermined with the washing of the water it immediately gave way, his horse and he were both tumbled into the river, and they shared the fate of the man whom the King had attempted to save. If this Monarch therefore gave no proof in his life of his zeal and activity to serve his country, he left a signal evidence of his humanity at his death ; and this makes it probable, that it was not so much

NIALl his fault, as the fault of the times, and owing to
 III. some untoward conjunctures, that he did not exert
 — himself sooner against the common enemy.

MALACH. I. Historians are not agreed about the succession of
 CH. I. the Monarchy on the death of NIALl; some of
 A. D. them saying that TURGESIUS usurped the sove-
 846. reignty, and was proclaimed King of Ireland by
 — his countrymen, to whom the Irish submitted.
 Others are entirely silent on this event; and in a
 regular succession place MALACHY the King of
 Meath, nephew to the last CONNOR, on the throne
 of Ireland. The last appear to me to be most in
 the right. For though TURGESIUS might be
 proclaimed by the Danes and Easterlings, and
 might assume the title of Monarch, nay though he
 might and certainly did, rule with a more despotic
 and arbitrary sway than any Monarch that had gone
 before him, yet the Irish most certainly did not
 acknowledge his title; they paid no other obedi-
 ence than what was forced from them in the way
 of arms; and they elected MALACHY for their
 sovereign. It must be owned however that he
 was a sovereign little more than in name; and
 the usurper, who had been above thirty years in
 the country before he took the title of King, plun-
 dering and destroying the inhabitants without mercy,
 had no greater accession of authority from his royal
 station than he had before. The difference therefore
 between the historians on this subject is rather no-
 minal than real: and if TURGESIUS was Monarch
 only among the foreigners — as my manuscript says
 — yet the Irish were held generally in the greatest
 subjection to him. No sooner had this foreigner
 assumed the royal authority, which, from their at-
 tachment to the family of their ancient Kings, he
 knew would disgust the natives to the last degree,
 than he dispatched messengers to Norway to notify
 this event, and to desire an immediate augmentati-
 on

on of his forces that he might be able to support MA-
 his pretensions. Nor was this precaution unnece- LACH. I.
 sary. For a people that were so brave and jealous
 of their liberties as the Irish were, could be kept
 under by nothing but a superior force ; when they
 saw these liberties trampled upon by foreigners,
 and their ancient sovereignty in the Milesian line
 wrested out of their hands.

The request that TURGESIUS made to his
 countrymen was soon complied with. A great
 fleet of transports filled with regular troops was
 sent from Norway, and landed on the western
 coast : and if the natives had reason to complain
 before of the loss of their property from these pira-
 tical Easterlings, they were now deprived of their
 liberty. They were forced by droves like sheep
 into captivity ; and such as escaped were obliged
 to retire into woods and wildernesses with their fa-
 milies, and lie exposed to the miseries of want and
 nakedness, in order to preserve themselves from
 slavery. The sea coasts were ravaged in the same
 manner, by sending different parties round the
 island in their boats ; and no words can paint out
 the various species of misery which the poor inha-
 bitants underwent. The cruelties of fire and
 sword, of rape and plunder, of violence and cap-
 tivity, were all united under the usurpation of
TURGESIUS. A government established in this
 manner, must necessarily overturn the laws and
 religion as well as the rights and liberties of the
 nation ; the only rule of administration being the
 usurpers will, and that usurper being a Pagan and
 a tyrant. This was in fact the case at that time
 in Ireland. The churches and monasteries were
 desolated and consumed, the laws were a dead
 letter, and all religion and learning were suppressed
 or banished the island.

MA-

LACH. I.

The more warlike the spirit of the Irish was, the more enthusiastic their attachment to the Milesian line of Kings, and the more jealous they were of their liberties, the more their necks must be galled with the oppressive yoke of this usurper. But even all this could not bring them to a spirit of union among themselves ; and faction, which is always the disease of liberty, proved mortal now and occasioned its death. Particular Princes, it is true, spirited up their tribes, and fought many times with great success against their oppressors : but these engagements were not the fruit of united counsel, had in concert with each other ; and were therefore more properly skirmishes and rencounters, than general actions in defence of the common cause, and for the extirpation of their enemies ; and the event was answerable. For notwithstanding these victorious battles over the Danes, the usurper still possessed the government. and the fate of the country remained undecided : the loss of their troops was continually supplied with fresh recruits from Norway, which were powered in upon them in great numbers, whilst the natives were diminishing even with their successes. The Irish being at length dispirited and worn out, were obliged to yield themselves vanquished, and to submit to the tyranny of their Danish masters ; who ruled them indeed with a rod of iron, and made them taste of the very dregs of servitude.

But as much as the ancient spirit of the Irish was broke at home, through their own dissensions, yet it shone abroad at this time among their descendants in North-Britain ; who, after a series of struggles against the Picts, entirely routed them, under KENETH MAC ALPIN, then the King of Scotland. This overthrow was so complete, that nothing remained but the memory of that fierce and barbarous people, which had so long flourished in

Great-

Great-Britain: and the Scots exchanged their ^{MA-}Highlands for the better part of the present king-^{LACH. I.}dom of Scotland. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that KENETH should be had in reverence among them as a very illustrious Prince, and as one of the founders of their monarchy: and if Ireland had not been destined by providence to be given up as a prey to faction, in order, as we may believe, to tame their spirit of animosity and licentiousness, the same Scots, no doubt, would have assisted them to restore the Irish monarchy, under which their ancestors were nourished, to its usual vigour. But peace and prosperity, which are the blessings of an united and religious people, were yet at a great distance from this ill-fated country.

TURGESIUS having brought the whole island into subjection, he made it his next business to new model the state; in order to secure himself in the government which he had obtained by force. Thus into every barony he put a Danish King, where before there had been an Irish one; for what we call Lords of the Manor, in those days they called Kings, as it hath been explained in the Introduction. Into every district or parish was placed a captain of war; every ville had a serjeant, and every house a soldier. The Bishops and Clergy were for the most part retreated into bogs and wildernesses, into woods or subterraneous caves, where they preserved their historical monuments, and where they hid and lurked about like wild beasts. Their country was no longer the island of Saints, nor the mart of literature to the rest of Europe. The men of learning had taken themselves away to seek repose in other countries; as we may learn from a letter to the Emperor CHARLES the Bald, who gave them a kind reception.

MA- on. "Why do I speak of Ireland, says the
LACH. I. writer, that whole nation almost despising the
danger of the sea, resort to our coasts with a nu-
merous train of Philosophers, of whom the more
famous abdicating their native soil, account them-
selves happy under your favour, as the servants of
the wise SOLOMON."

When the city of Ardماغ was sacked, all the clergy, the religious, and the students of that university, were made prisoners by TURGESIUS, and shipped off for Limerick, then in the hands of the Danes; and what was their fate afterwards was never known. In every church or monastery that was not reduced to ashes, and near the ruins of those that were, a lay Danish Abbot had his residence; in order to collect the revenues with which they were endowed. All the books that could be met with they burnt or tore to pieces; the schools and seminaries of learning were shut up or destroyed; and the inhabitants were not permitted to teach their children to read. Every bride was obliged to lie the first night after her marriage with the Danish captain of the territory in which she lived; but if she was not to his taste, he had a certain tax in money in lieu of her virginity.

These are only the outlines of that cruel bondage, which the native Irish were held in by their Lords the Danes; the particulars are still more shocking and insupportable. It has already been taken notice of, that a soldier was quartered in every house and cottage throughout the kingdom; but the reader has no idea of the miseries entailed upon every family by that regulation. Here was not only a spy upon every action, every word, and every look, but the soldier was also the absolute master of the house, and of every person in it. Not a chicken could be killed, not an egg, nor a little milk used for any one, till he was first satisfied
and

and his leave obtained : and if he had a mind to MAlie with the wife or daughter, he must not be de-LACH. I. nied, lest his resentment should dispossess them of all they had. Neither the cries of the infant, nor the wants of the diseased, which required milk, were in the least regarded by this brute ; and he would oftentimes devour it wantonly, to create the greater distress, and to enhance his inhumanity. Many of the Irish at first refused to comply with these oppressions ; but then the soldiers of the neighbouring houses joining together, they were dragged by violence to the guard, which they kept in every country ; and there imprisoned and cruelly used 'till they had made satisfaction to their guests, whom they had offended by their disobedience.

None of the gentry or nobility were allowed to wear any clothes, but what the Danes had first worn out and laid aside : the young ladies were not permitted to work at all with the needle ; and the sons of the Irish chiefs were prohibited the use of arms, or to exercise themselves in any feats of activity or in martial sports ; lest they should be qualified and tempted to shake off the yoke of slavery now about their necks. Every master of a family throughout the island was obliged to pay an annual tribute to the government of an ounce of gold ; and if he was remiss in the payment, whether through utter inability or not, he was punished with the loss of his nose ; which occasioned it to be called by the name of the Nose Tax. In short, all the natives of every rank were prohibited under the penalty of the severest fines and imprisonment, to make any public entertainments, or to use hospitality among each other ; in order to prevent any caballing or contriving against the government for the restoration of their liberties.

MA-

LACH. I.

Such, and so dreadful was the bondage in which the Irish were held by these barbarians ; but yet nothing could bring them to an union among themselves. This is a conduct so utterly incapable of any excuse, that if one might presume to interpret the dark ways of Heaven, and to judge of things so far above our reach, one would think that the miseries which fell upon this people through the savage cruelty of the Danes, were dealt out by providence as a just return for those evils, which their everlasting contentions brought upon one another. Be this however as it might : the excess of tyranny practised by TURGESIUS, at length roused some of them from their desperation ; and by the event it was very evident, that it was not owing to the superior power, or skill, or valour of these foreigners, that they trampled thus over the rights and liberties of the Irish, but to their own spirit of discord ; and that they rather chose to suffer themselves, than that those whom they hated should not be miserable.

In one of those Danish raths or forts already mentioned, TURGESIUS had built a palace for his residence ; which was not far from the palace of MALACHY the King of Meath, and the rightful Monarch of Ireland. As he would sometimes condescend to visit and to be entertained by his brother King, he became acquainted with the person of one of his daughters, who was extremely beautiful : and he demanded her for his pleasure. The King endeavoured to persuade him that there were many young ladies in his family or his neighbourhood, of much greater beauty than his daughter, and which he did not doubt would please him better. The passions of the tyrant had been strangers to any denial ; and as he was much enflamed with a desire for the Princess whom he had seen, he declared his resolution to take her away, and possess her.

As

As much as MALACHY was stung with this resolution, and determined in himself to frustrate it, he had presence of mind and command enough over his temper, to smother his resentment at that time; and to seem even pleased with an honour which his heart abhorred as the foulest infamy. With equal artifice and dissimulation he persuaded the brutal tyrant to believe, that the yielding up his daughter to the embraces of so great a King, whose friendship it would ensure him, was a thing to be rather pleased with than disliked: but since the inclinations of TURGESIUS lay to the pleasures of the bed, he was desirous they should be gratified with greater beauty than his daughter had to boast of: and therefore if he liked the proposal, MALACHY would send her at a certain hour the next evening, accompanied with fifteen other blooming virgins, the meanest of which should surpass his daughter in beauty: out of these when they were all before him, and taking the opinion of some of the most skilful among his Lords, he might select his game as he pleased: if the Princess then should be most agreeable to him, she was not too good to be at his service; but if any other should presume upon his leavings, MALACHY hoped he would remember whose child she was.

The lascivious Dane was not only satisfied, but extremely delighted with this proposal; and was lavish in his thanks and praises to MALACHY for the contrivance. He was then going to Dublin to a convention of his chiefs upon affairs of state; in order still further to defeat the hopes of the natives, to defend the country from other invaders, and to perpetuate the succession to the government of the island among themselves. As soon as the business was finished, and the council had been entertained, the usurper selected fifteen of the company who were his greatest favourites, to whom he commu-

MA- communicated this intrigue ; and to whom he
 LACH. I. promised to sacrifice a beautiful young virgin if
 ————— they would go with him to his palace. The pro-
 posal was not made with greater pleasure than it
 was accepted ; and they all repaired to the court
 of TURGESIUS with great impatience. The mind of
 MALACHY, though for very different reasons, was
 not less at rest. Nothing was further from his inten-
 tion, than the delivering up his daughter, who was
 indeed extremely beautiful, to gratify the lust of
 this libidinous Dane ; and yet he knew his own
 life must not only pay the forfeit of his refusal, but
 that his daughter must also still be the prey of his
 brutal appetite. What did he do therefore in this
 dilemma, but resolve upon an attempt, which, if
 it miscarried, would leave them in no worse si-
 tuation than they were in before ; and if it succeed-
 ed—as he had great reason to hope it would—must
 rid him for ever of this savage tyrant, whom it
 would sacrifice to the violence of his own lust.

Accordingly he got together fifteen of the
 most lovely fair young men in his territories, on
 whose spirit and resolution he could depend ; and
 after communicating the secret of his purpose to
 them, and taking their engagement to execute it
 to his wish, they were all attired like young ladies,
 and every one armed with a short sharp sword un-
 der their robe. He then instructed them in the
 part they were to act, and assured them that he
 would follow with his guard at a little distance to
 second and support them in what should remain to
 be done. Thus accoutred and disciplined, the
 Princess and her companions went at the hour ap-
 pointed to the Danish palace ; where they were no
 sooner arrived, than they were conducted to the
 apartment where the Monarch and his associates
 were waiting to receive them. In order to disgust
 the ladies as little as possible with their appearance,
 all

all their arms were left below ; and their outward MA-
 air of complacency and satisfaction, kept equal LACH. I.
 pace with the inward pleasure that employed their
 minds.

But the Princess and her retinue were inspired with a love of another kind, a love of liberty and their country ; which they were resolved to redeem, or to perish in the attempt. Thus the one side thought of nothing but excessive dalliance and indulgence of desire ; and the other was prepared for assassination. Accordingly when TURGESIUS had compared the Princess with her train, and embraced her as a token of the choice he made, they one and all drew their swords at the same instant, and put every one of the Danes to death ; except the tyrant himself, who, according to their instructions, was bound with cords they had brought concealed for that purpose. The signal was then given out of the window, as it had been agreed upon, to MALACHY and his guards ; who broke into the fort sword in hand, and, giving no quarter, the officers and soldiers fell promiscuously in the carnage, and not one escaped to tell their fate. The revenge of the Irish being thus fully satiated for the present, MALACHY made it his first business to seek out and triumph over the usurper. Having upbraided him with a short narration of his monstrous cruelties, his many rapes and murders, and a general state of his oppression and tyranny, he ordered him to be heavy loaded with irons, and to be dragged along in his procession to grace the victory.

No sooner was this success over the Danes made known out of the fort, but it spread like fire over the island : and the news could not be quicker, than was the resolution of the Irish to throw off the yoke which had so long enslaved them. As soon as the Danes understood that their King was taken prisoner,

MA-
LACH. I. er, the principal nobility slaughtered, no quarter
any where given, and themselves without a leader,
they became in their turn dispirited : and as though
the genius of TURGESIUS had been the charm that
had exalted his own countrymen and depressed the
Irish, no sooner was it broken by his imprisonment,
than the Danes lost all their courage ; and the na-
tives, like men awakened out of a dream of slavery,
were amazed to find themselves the conquerors.
Such of the Danish invaders as lived near the
coasts, betook themselves to their shipping with all
possible expedition, and left the island. But those
who had possessed themselves of the inland country,
were obliged to retreat into their cities and fortifi-
ed places to secure themselves by their numbers.
This retreat however availed them nothing. The
Irish had now recovered their pristine spirit ; and
as though it had acquired strength from lying dor-
mant, it every where burst out with a double fury.
The towns and forts where the Danes had taken
shelter were assaulted and stormed with rage rather
than valour ; the woods and wildernesses, in which
others had concealed themselves when the Irish
quitted them, were cleared of their new inhabi-
tants with an unrelenting vengeance : no solitude
nor flight was able to protect them from an enemy
whom they had enraged with the vilest treatment :
in short, the Irish were determined to make use of
this opportunity to extirpate these barbarians at
once out of the land, to complete the revolution,
and to establish their government upon its antient
footing.

When the usurper had been kept some time in
fetters, in order to punish his haughty spirit, and
to make him a witness to the miseries of his
countrymen, he was drawn to Lochannin by the
command of MALACHY, amidst thousands of spec-
tators exulting in his fate, and, bound as he was,
thrown

thrown in, and drowned. Thus ended the life of MALACH. I.
 the accursed tyrant TURGESIUS, after perpetrating a series of cruelties for many years abhorrent to our nature : leaving an example to the world, how miserable and unexpected their fate often is, who consulting nothing but their interest and the gratification of their passions, think by cunning or violence to establish themselves in their power and greatness. The small remainder of the Danes, who could neither save themselves by flight nor by their valour, were reduced to the necessity of begging quarter, and of promising to become obedient and useful servants to the Irish : and the peace of the country being now secured, and the fury of the inhabitants in a great measure abated by the execution of the Usurper, and by the slaughter or the flight of the greatest part of his men, these few were received to mercy ; and being disarmed their lives were spared.

Whether MALACHY was elected Monarch of Ireland on the death of NIALL, as the most correct and the greatest part of the historians say, or whether the Irish being then over-run and intimidated by the Danes, made no election of a Monarch, but submitted to TURGESIUS who usurped the government, as others say, yet it is on all hands allowed, that he was the Monarch at the revolution brought about by the usurper's death. He was King of Meath at the time when NIALL the Second died ; and though he might be elected Monarch, he had it not in his power to assume the sovereignty, and continued still in his former station ; which might occasion this difference among the historians, as I have said before. But as it is agreed, that he was acknowledged to be the Monarch of Ireland at the drowning of TURGESIUS, and the expulsion of the Danes, so at that time we find him taking the reins

MA-
LACH. I. reins of government into his hands, assembling the states of the kingdom in a general convention, and resettling the constitution upon its ancient footing. In this convention, the Lords and Princes, and provincial Kings, were each restored to their jurisdiction : and though they could not recover all their treasures of gold and silver, and jewels, the spoils of many foreign Princes brought home to Ireland through many hundred years by their predecessors, yet every private person was restored to his land and cattle, and the state recovered its civil policy.

The reader will perhaps imagine, that they had seen so many instances of the fatal effects of their dissensions, that they should have resolved henceforward, by common consent, to lay aside their animosities, and to establish peace and harmony. Indeed they had not only had experience of the evils introduced by a tyrannous enemy through their dissensions, but they had also seen something of the comforts of mutual love and friendship, during the thirteen years of the usurpation, and which their common calamities, by a natural consequence, had effected. The arts of peace at home, and commerce abroad, had in some sort been cultivated by their enemies ; who were not unacquainted with trade, and with other countries. Hence they saw the folly and madness of their ancestors, in employing their time and strength in cutting one anothers throats, which they might have employed so much more to their own glory, and the public good, in fitting out ships, extending their commerce with foreign nations, and in securing their country by fleets and fortifications against all invaders. Though their late subjection had been intolerable, yet they could not avoid perceiving the advantages which arose from commerce,

merce, and from rest and tranquillity to the com-^{MA-}munity : and in fact we are told, that hence they ^{LACH. I.}began to relish a life of quietness, to dislike their former state of turbulence and contention, to consider the danger of an open country ready to call in an enemy, and to wish there was less discord, and more strength and order, in each other's dominion.

Had these wise considerations had their due effect, and been carried into execution, the evils of their late subjection would have produced a real good to the nation. But the Irish were not a people to be taught even by their own experience ; or to speak perhaps with more propriety, neither the loss of their wealth, of their blood, of their learning, of their religion, and their liberty ; neither the destruction of their provinces and constitution ; neither the terrors of men, nor the judgments of heaven, could subdue in these people their natural disposition to quarrelling and contention for the sake of power, and persuade them to public concord. It was not however, till some little time after the restoration of their government, that any opportunity for contention offered : and this time, which should have been spent in providing a naval force, in repairing the Danish fortifications which in the height of their fury they had demolished, or in erecting new ones on their coasts, they wasted either in ease which was unmanly, or in exercises which were unprofitable. Nay, they would not be at the trouble so much as of guarding their sea ports, which were their principal defence against invaders : but employed their late vanquished enemies to whom they had given a pardon, and who were retained in their pay, to be their guard in those places that were of the first importance. Who then can wonder, that a people thus infatu-

MA- infatuated, and not to be taught wisdom by Go
LACH. I. or Man, should be again exposed to the calamities
— they had before endured!

The Danes had had such a taste of the riches and fertility of the island, that though they had been driven out by the valour and martial fortitude of the natives, yet they could not help entertaining hopes, by some means or other, of regaining a settlement among the Irish. After many consultations among the chiefs to this purpose, it was at last agreed to send a fleet of ships in the way of traffick, with goods and merchandise of various sorts, without any appearance of hostile force or instruments of war; but yet under the conduct of three of their best Generals, and with a sufficient number of arms concealed, which might be ready when occasion offered. The project being thus concerted, was immediately put into execution; and the author of the Polychronicon gives this account of the expedition. "After the death of TURGESIUS, the three brothers, AMELANUS, CYRACUS, and IMORUS, went in a peaceable manner from the ports of Norway; and under the pretence of exercising trade and commerce as merchants, they arrived with their followers on the island, and with the consent of the Irish, who had given them up as an inactive people, they occupied the maritime places, and built the cities of Waterford, Dublin, and Limerick: but their numbers encreasing daily, they often insulted and disturbed the natives." Lest the reader should be misled by this account, it may be proper to let him know, that these cities had been built many years before this expedition; but having been burnt down or sacked in the first Danish war, as it is called, the meaning here must be, that they were re-edified out of their ruins.

It is plain from the testimony of this author, ^{MA-} that the Norwegians by this device, and under the ^{LACH. I.} conduct of these officers in the disguise of merchants, had made the Irish the instruments of their own destruction. For they not only obtained settlements in the best parts of the island for their purpose, but they gradually improved them by making fresh acquisitions continually, 'till they had it in their power to dispute the whole with the natives, and oftentimes to enslave them. This is called by the historians the second Danish war; and if it is not called so with impropriety, yet it was a war which was made up of many wars, and which continued near a hundred and fifty years—some peaceable intervals excepted—before they were all extinguished. For the country from whence these foreigners swarmed, whether called Norway or Denmark, or by the more general name of Scandinavia, was an inexhaustible store both of men and shipping: and enabled them consequently to bear up under all defeats, and to extend their commerce to the most distant countries. But these advantages would not have enabled them to subdue the Irish, if the Irish themselves had not assisted them by their own dissensions. For while the petty Princes were contending against and tearing each other to pieces for trifles, the Danes took the opportunity of their being thus weakened; and subduing the victor and the vanquished, forced each of them to confess their superior power, and own them for their masters.

They had not lived long in peace and plenty, and in the enjoyment of their liberty, before their natural disposition to feuds and animosities broke out again and carried all before it. The same contests prevailed about the government of a province, a barony or district, as heretofore; and were in the same manner decided by the longest

MA- sword. A state of order and tranquillity was not
 EACH. I. natural to their form of government, and therefore
 — could not be of long continuance. A spirit of re-
 venge countenanced by their laws as well as their
 manners, soon occasioned eruptions of intestine
 discord and animosity. This in short was the ru-
 ling passion of these people ; and no considerations
 whatever could get the better of it. We have
 seen how they fell into the snare of the Norwegians,
 at the recovery of their liberties from the same sort
 of men : and as though this was not giving their
 enemies advantage enough against them, they
 soon after added this of quarrelling with one an-
 other sword in hand. These advantages were no
 sooner given than taken ; the Norwegians possessed
 themselves of all the sea ports and fortified places ;
 all the foreign trade of the island was chiefly carried
 on by them ; and the infatuated Irish gave them no
 disturbance. Some of their old neighbours the
 Danes being informed of this success, renewed
 their attempts on some parts of the island on the
 old score of plunder : the opposition they met with
 from the old inhabitants was feeble and fruitless ;
 but harassing the infant city of Dublin and the ter-
 ritories adjacent, in which the Norwegians were
 equally, if not principally, concerned, it was
 more their business than that of the Irish, to stop
 their progress and drive them out.

A select body of troops was therefore got to-
 gether as fast as possible, with which they marched
 against the Danes and offered them battle. The
 challenge was accepted, and a bloody battle en-
 sued ; the Irish being entirely neutral. The Danes
 at last obtained the victory ; the Norwegians were
 defeated with the loss of their best forces, and a
 thousand men were left dead in the field. En-
 couraged by this success, the Danes lost no time
 in improving their victory ; they dispossessed their
 enemy,

enemy, and driving them out of the island, took ^{MA-} their stations and their wealth together. After ^{LACA} this they turned their arms against the natives, in order to secure what they had possessed themselves of, as well as to acquire the same authority over the Irish as their predecessors had enjoyed ; and they succeeded in both. But as they had gained such a happy settlement in the fertile lands of Ireland, it was looked upon as a provision for a Prince of the house of Denmark : and accordingly one of them came to take the command of all the Danes dispersed throughout the island. AMELANUS was the name of this royal chief ; and he had no sooner put himself at their head, than he fought the natives who had revolted, with great advantage, imposed heavy contributions, and reduced them to a state of servitude.

The natives, being wearied at length with these oppressions, saw the necessity of uniting together to shake them off. Very great pains had been taken by one EAGNA, a religious, notwithstanding this conviction, to bring about an union sufficient to this purpose ; so great an animosity subsisted at that time, between some of the Princes of the southern, and the inhabitants of the northern half of the island. A truce however having been agreed upon, the Monarch MALACHY issued out his summons for a general convention of the States of the kingdom. It required no long deliberation to prevail upon themselves to follow the good old man's advice : and as the King of Ossory had behaved himself with petulance and rudeness to him, as it may be supposed, when EAGNA attempted to persuade him to this union—for I can see no other reason for the resolution—it was resolved that he should not only make a submission to the Priest, who had laboured this point with unwearied diligence, but also that the King of Ossory and the

MA- son of the King of Munster, should conclude a
 LACH. I. peace with the northern half of the island ; that
 they might all of them be at liberty to unite their
 forces against the common enemy. It is strange,
 that any pains should be necessary to accomplish such
 an union in their circumstances ; and not less
 strange, that one man only should be found, of
 public spirit and good sense enough to project and
 undertake it. But it seems so it was ; and we can
 have no pretence to disbelieve or be surprized at it,
 in this country, where every body's business is
 thought to be no body's ; and where instances of
 this sort, in matters of great importance too, have
 very often happened. But to return to Ireland.

In pursuance of the resolution agreed upon in
 the convention above-mentioned, but not before
 the King of Munster had been stoned to death by
 the Danes, the Monarch having raised a very pow-
 erful army marched against them, and gave a signal
 overthrow to the Danes in battle, those especially
 who were quartered in and about Dublin, in which
 the greatest part of them were slain. MALACHY
 lived but a short time to enjoy the fruits of his vic-
 tory ; and of his throne he can scarce be said to have
 had any enjoyment. For during the first thirteen
 years, he was rather the slave of TURGESIUS than
 the sovereign of a kingdom, and the three years of
 his reign since the death of that tyrant, had been
 full of distraction through the frequent attempts and
 successes of his enemies, and the tumultuary dissen-
 sions of his own subjects. In all probability, if he
 had lived a little longer, as the peace of his king-
 dom was then established, for a time at least, he
 might have proved as successful against the Prince
 of Denmark, as he had been against the Nor-
 wegian tyrant and his followers. He appears to
 have been a man of equal courage and ability ;
 and the Irish wanted nothing but an union under
 such

such a leader to defeat their enemies, as the event ^{MA-} had made it appear. Let me not be mistaken, as ^{LACH. I.} imagining that the Irish were never to be vanquished with equal numbers: I only mean, that in fighting with equal numbers against an enemy, and not against each other, their martial fortitude, or more properly their martial fury, would generally obtain the victory; and yet the Danes were not wanting in valour and intrepidity. But there was something in the military genius of the Irish, to be better conceived perhaps than expressed, which, if not overpowered by numbers, for the most part gave them the superiority.

HUGH the Sixth, the son of NIALL the Third, ^{HUGH} who had been King of Temoria, ascended the ^{VI. A. D.} throne on the death of MALACHY, and possessed ^{863.} it sixteen years. Whether the union of the kingdom was dissolved by the death of the Monarch, and the election of his successor, which is not improbable, we are uninformed. My reasons for thinking it not improbable that the union was then dissolved, are not only the natural disposition of the Irish, and their almost constant practice to quarrel on such an event, but also because we find in a short time after, a battle was engaged in against the Danes with a Prince of Meath at the head of the Irish, in which the Prince and most of his people were cut to pieces. This perhaps might be only a rencounter instead of a battle, though AMELANUS is said to command the Danes; or the Irish might be surprized and set upon in their march, and so be obliged to engage whether they would or no. But be all this as it might, for it is all conjecture, AMELANUS immediately after this engagement, transported his forces into Scotland; and, according to the fashion of his country, plundering the inhabitants, and making many of them prisoners, he returned to Ireland with a great booty.

HUGH
VI.

If the union had been dissolved on the death of MALACHY, it seems now again to have been revived : at least we find the Monarch at the head of a numerous army attacking the Danes in a pitched battle in Ulster. All the forces on each side seem to have been collected on this occasion ; and as the engagement was general, so likewise was the defeat. The foreigners were routed with the loss of twelve hundred slain in the field of battle ; and the heads of forty of their chief officers were brought away in triumph. The remainder of the army, who were not wounded or taken prisoners, retreated to their fortifications : hither the Irish pursued them, and being flushed with their last victory, attacked and beat them ; recovering all the spoils and plunder which they had made. The palace of AMELANUS built in one of their Raths, was set on fire by some of the natives, and quite consumed : but during the confusion which the fire put the garrison into, the Irish soldiers attacked them with such incredible fury, that very few escaped ; and a hundred of their principal officers were numbered among the slain.

AMELANUS himself lived to revenge on the Irish this general rout of his whole army ; by one of those actions approved in the art of war, but in which valour, or manly fortitude have no share. As the Irish army were returning home from their victory, in separate bodies, he laid an ambuscade for one of them, in which two thousand were surprised, and either killed or wounded, or taken prisoners. After this, he marched with all the forces he had left to Ardmagh ; and plundering that city and its environs, with all the rage of an incensed and disappointed enemy, they went off in haste to their ships, and left the island. There is nothing more said of the Monarch HUGH, but that he died a natural death : and as we hear no
more

more of the Ostmen or Danes in Ireland for seven years, and the country was returning apace to its usual state, so we are come now to a proper conclusion of this book, which has treated of nothing but the calamities of war and discord. HUGH
VI.

The ecclesiastical history of this country, during that period, affords no other views but of ruined monasteries, churches demolished, and neglected discipline. It is therefore no wonder that we meet with so little matter relating to church or state. For the greatest part of the monasteries, where the memoirs of all transactions were deposited, having been demolished, the historians who have wrote of these disastrous times, have most of them wrote from memory or tradition; or at least without the assistance of such original memoirs. But indeed the clergy being despoiled of what was intended for their subsistence, they were obliged to quit their function, and to turn to the exercise of arms that they might defend their country: and therefore it so happened, that there were very few men of learning whose labours could afford us any real light. Such a prodigious change had the calamities of so long a war produced in the Irish nation!

THE
HISTORY
OF
IRELAND.

BOOK IX.

FLAN.
A. D.
879.

AS great a figure as the Danes and Easterlings have made in Ireland, for almost an hundred years past, yet the time was come at last, when it pleased God to give some respite to the Irish from these savage enemies. HUGH the Sixth saw this effected, but he did not live long enough to enjoy the fruits of it ; and FLAN, the son of MALACHY, who had been King of Temoria, ascended the throne on the death of HUGH. The crown was scarce fixed on the head of FLAN, before he found it necessary to raise an army and invade the province of Munster. Whence arose this necessity, or what it was that should induce a Monarch, as soon as he was elected, to invade one of his provinces, is one of those events among many others, which annalists have not given themselves the trouble of recording ; and which their posterity therefore can only guess at. One would think by the revenge that was taken, if we were not a little acquainted with the spirit of that people, that the provo-

provocation must have been very great: for the provincial troops of Munster, being either un-
prepared to resist the attack, or being unwilling to oppose the Monarch, the whole country, it is said, lay exposed to the fury of the royal army; which, after they had plundered the inhabitants, carried many of them away into captivity. No sooner therefore was the island cleared of its foreign enemies, than the natives returned to their old inveterate custom of being a plague to one another. Nor was this which hath been mentioned the only instance of it. DONOLD, one of their chiefs, was treacherously assassinated by some of his pretended friends; and the King of Ulster was murdered in an inhuman manner by his own subjects, which occasioned great disturbances and bloodshed in the province.

But all these animosities were at length happily terminated; and a settled peace and tranquillity all over the island for some years ensued. The Archbishop of Cashell, CORMAC MAC CUILLENAN, commonly called the holy CORMAC, was at this time in possession of the crown of Munster; and to the pious care and abilities of this King, all the historians have attributed the happiness which Ireland then enjoyed. Whether this is attributed to him justly, and without partiality, may, I think, admit of a question. The Monarch of Ireland, it is probable, was as much employed in bringing about a reconciliation among the contending parties; as he had certainly more authority, and was interested more in a general peace than CORMAC: but then he was not an Archbishop as well as a King; and consequently the Monkish writers would not be so much inclined to celebrate his praises as those of the holy CORMAC. But to whomsoever it was owing, the island being delivered from intestine discord as well as foreign enemies, it wore a face of prosperity which it had not done for many years before.

The

FLAN. The lands were every where cultivated and manured, and yielded crops in great plenty : the churches, abbies, and other religious houses, began to be repaired or rebuilt : many academies and schools of learning were again opened, for the education of youth in arts and sciences as well as languages : their former miseries began to be forgotten by the inhabitants, and no other prospect appeared than of a general happiness throughout the land.

But this was too great a blessing for the people of Ireland long to enjoy : and notwithstanding the praises which are given to Holy CORMAC by the old historians, it is easy to see that they are much exaggerated ; for if he was the only person who had the merit of bringing about the tranquillity above-mentioned, to him must be ascribed the blame of being the first that overturned it. The reader has been told already, that the characters of King and Priest were united in the person of CORMAC : and so general a peace prevailing over the island, that he had no opportunity of making a figure in his Kingly character, he determined to do something extraordinary as an Archbishop. He proposed therefore to celebrate the feast of Easter, which was approaching, with great state and magnificence at his palace of Cashel : and to this end he dispatched a messenger to the inhabitants of the territory adjoining to it, demanding a sufficient quantity of provision for his table and retinue during his stay at Cashell, upon that occasion. But the inhabitants being strangers to such a demand, and though they might not have objected to entertain him as their Archbishop, with such a modest and humble train as is necessary to that character, yet the royal dignity required more expence than they chose to undergo for his reception ; and they gave a flat denial to his demand. The tribe of
Dalgats

Dalgais belonging to his province, and who were very renowned in arms, distinguished their loyalty upon this occasion. For they no sooner heard of this uncivil usage of their King, than they sent in the provision which was necessary for the support of his royal dignity whilst he staid at Cashell; and which was received with great acknowledgments.

To this free gift perhaps it was owing, that CORMAC in his Psalter hath taken occasion to celebrate the extraordinary valour of this tribe of the Dalgais. The Psalter of this poetical King and Archbishop, CORMAC CUILLENAN, is quoted by KEATING as still extant; and it particularly sings the praises of this martial Clan, as making the van-guard of the army of Munster, in all its marches and attacks against the enemy, but in its retreat forming the rear: in short, though they were as meek and merciful as Saints, says the Poet, yet they were of courage not to be subdued. It may be proper to acquaint the reader, that by a younger branch the Princes of these people were the descendents of OLIOLL OLUM, who had the country of Thomond for their possession, and who always took up arms in defence of the Kings of Munster, against any other provincial troops, and particularly against the army of the northern half of the kingdom. There were twelve Cantreds in the division belonging to the crown of Thomond, and their territories extended to the walls of Cashell.

The King of Munster having met with the refusal above-mentioned, from the people of Eaganach, in the neighbourhood of his See of Cashell, and subjects in his province, was determined to try their affection to him upon another occasion. Another messenger was therefore sent to them, to desire they would assist him with some of their best arms and horses, in order to enable him to make such presents to the strangers who should repair to his court, as were

FLAN, were not unbecoming his own dignity, or unsuitable to their desert. The messenger was instructed also to insinuate to them, that as they must be sensible of the obligations which they lay under to him, and had not yet paid him the usual compliments on his accession to the crown of Munster, so the King had assured himself of their compliance with this request.

What these obligations, or these usual compliments were, we are not informed : but it is plain, that the King thought one way upon this occasion, and the people another. For though they did not absolutely give a denial to this demand, as they had done to the former, yet their compliance fell little short of a refusal. They looked out all the battered mean arms they had, and the most disabled useless horses that could be found ; which they sent to the court of CORMAC. The loyal tribe of the Dalgais resented this affront as they had done the other ; and collecting some of their finest horses and furniture, with a great quantity of arms, and some jewels, which they had saved or taken from the Danes, made presents of them to their King. No wonder that CORMAC in his poetical compositions should mention this people with respect and honour : and it is as little to be wondered at, that the Monkish writers of that time should do all that was in their power to illustrate the character of this royal Prelate, who appears to have been a great friend to their order.

But although these historians represent him under all the favourable circumstances that they can, as a just and learned Prince, whom fortune favoured in all her undertakings, whom his enemies dreaded, and whom his subjects almost adored, yet they have let slip so many particulars of another sort as go a great way in destroying the high opinion they seem to desire we should conceive of him.

The

The principal nobility and gentry of his province advised him, it is said, to invade the territories of Leinster, and to demand a tribute or chief-rent from the inhabitants; which, if they refused to pay, his army should take by force. An enterprise of this nature we may be sure could not be agreeable to the holy CORMAC, if he was such a Saint as they represent him: but upon the deliberations of his council, and particularly by the instigation of FLAHERTY, Abbot of Iniscathy, he raised a numerous army, consisting of the flower of his provincial troops, and prepared for the expedition. After they have owned this, which does not make much for his character, the historians tell us that the King was not inclined to proceed, because he foreknew from a prophetic spirit he was endowed with, that he should lose his life in the action.

The Boromean tribute from the province of Leinster, to the Monarchs of Ireland, we have heard of over and over: but what tribute could be due to the King of Munster, or upon what account the Leinster people should make an acknowledgment of subjection to that King, it is impossible for us to say. There is nothing in the history, as I remember, that can warrant any such claim; and if there was, it had been worn out by time and accidents. When the whole island therefore was enjoying rest and tranquillity, and the spirits of men were grown calm and sociable, to involve these two provinces, and perhaps the greatest part of the kingdom, in a new quarrel on that account, was a conduct unworthy of a good King; but in an Archbishop was highly criminal. Whether the tale of his pretended prophetic spirit, which the historians have artfully introduced, in order to make the world believe that he was impelled to this undertaking absolutely against his will by the

impor-

FLAN. importunity of his council, will exculpate CORMAC from this crime, shall be left to the reader's determination. But surely he might have a presentiment of his death in the approaching battle, as many a man has had, without a prophetic spirit; and many a man too has been deceived in such a foreboding. However if he was endowed with a prophetic spirit—which the writers of those times most commonly give their Saints—it must be owned that he paid an ill compliment to it, to prefer the advice of his friends before it.

If the reader thinks that I am tedious in the relation of this quarrel, and in discussing the several circumstances attending it, as perhaps many readers may, then I must be free enough to say, that I write not for such as them. This is the sort of historical facts which shew the workings of the human mind; of which this history hath been hitherto much more barren than I could have wished it: and to say the truth, they are the only facts which relieve the labour and reward the pains of a writer of any judgment, or which furnish pleasure or improvement to a reader of any taste. No wonder therefore will it be, that I should catch with some eagerness at all that come in my way; in order to answer the best and the only valuable purpose of writing or reading history.—But to return to the design of CORMAC on the province of Leinster.

Having concerted the proper measures for this important expedition, the King then proceeded to settle his private affairs; and being very poetically inclined made his will in verse. Under the same persuasion that he should never return from this war against the province of Leinster, he sent a messenger for LORCAN the King of Thomond to attend him in his camp before he passed the frontiers. The summons being obeyed, and a council of the principal

principal nobility and officers of the province of **FLAN.** Munster having been called, the King informed them that he thought it necessary, before he entered upon action where he apprehended he should lose his life, to settle the succession to his crown after his death ; in order to prevent any tumults, and to defeat the pretensions of contending factions. Then taking **LORCAN** by the hand, he presented him to the council as his lawful successor, according to the will of their great ancestor **OLIOLL OLUM** ; who ordained that the crown of Munster should descend alternately to the posterity of his eldest and his second son. It must be observed however notwithstanding this demise, that through a long succession of forty four Princes, the posterity of the eldest son only had enjoyed the crown ; and that the tribe of the **Dalgais** inherited the territories of **Thomond**, as it hath been said, under the Princes descended from the younger son ; of which number was **LORCAN** whom **CORMAC** nominated to succeed him in the throne of Munster.

This is a signal instance of the vanity of human foresight ; and will teach Kings that they may decree, but that the ratification depends upon the will of Heaven. **OLIOLL OLUM** had ordained that the succession to his province should be alternate in the posterity of his two sons ; and contrary to this injunction, the crown had been enjoyed by four and forty descendants from the eldest son without interruption ; and those of the youngest son had during that period been confined to the little government of **Thomond** in that province. Again, **CORMAC MAC CUILLENAN** having a great friendship for **LORCAN**, whose tribe had given such remarkable instances of loyalty as have been mentioned, was desirous that the crown of Munster should devolve at his own death upon him. He had

FLAN. had an ancient title of six hundred years date to plead ; but then it had been set aside in forty four successions. **CORMAC** however hoped to revive it in favour of **LORCAN**, and to prevent any disturbances in the province after his death : but though he called a council for this purpose and nominated him in form, yet the council after the death of **CORMAC** annulled his nomination, and gave the crown of Munster to another. A very sufficient proof, that he was not so much adored by his subjects, as the historians would have us believe.

The provincial troops being assembled at the place of rendezvous, the King, being attended with his favourite the Abbot of Inis-cathy, who was the chief promoter of this war, put himself at their head ; and marched towards the confines of the province of Leinster. When he arrived there he ordered the whole army to halt, and sent a herald to the King of that province, to demand a yearly tribute as a testimony of subjection, or hostages for the payment of it ; and in case of refusal to declare war. Whilst he was waiting in expectation of the return of the herald, an accident happened to **FLAHERTY** the Abbot ; who would make himself a General, as his master, who was an Archbishop, had made himself a King. The Abbot being more inclined to arms than to count his beads, made use of this leisure to ride through the ranks and to view the camp, in order to assure himself of the force of the Mormonian army. But while he was upon this exercise, his horse, being trained to a convent and not a camp, took flight at the noise and glitter of the arms, and fell with his rider into a ditch. Had his neck been broke by that fall, it might have proved a lucky accident to the King and his army, as well as to the province of Leinster ; as he was the principal incendiary that had stirred up the war. But as he survived this accident, it had no
other

other effect than to strike a terror into the soldiery ; many of whom, looking upon it as an unfortunate omen and despairing of success, resolved not to wait the issue of a battle, and deserted.

When the herald returned, he was accompanied with ambassadors from the province of Leinster, desiring to enter into a treaty with CORMAC ; and that there might be a suspension of hostilities in the mean time, or if the treaty should prove ineffectual, until the May ensuing. The harvest it seems was just then begun ; and it was a mutual benefit to both parties, that the decision of the dispute, if it must be decided by arms, should be postponed until the following spring. However to induce the King of Munster to accept this proposal, and to convince him that it flowed from a sincere desire of peace, the King of Leinster sent him a very considerable present in money and jewels, and offered to send hostages to remain with a neutral Abbot until the treaty should be concluded. Nor did he forget to send noble presents to the Abbot of Inis-cathy, whose influence with the King he was but too well convinced of. But the Abbot, like other courtiers, made no scruple to accept the presents, though he did nothing to deserve them ; nay though he used his interest to the prejudice of the donor : and he who ought to have been the minister of peace was the only obstacle that prevented it.

When the ambassadors had made the proposal above-mentioned, it appeared so reasonable to CORMAC who was not inclined to the war, that he declared his readiness to accept it ; and even condescended to ask FLAHERTY to acquiesce in his determination. But the furious Abbot, who had fomented this quarrel between the provinces, and who delighted in war, was not only so implacable as to reject the proposal with indignation, but he

FLAN. carried his insolence so far, as to upbraid the King of Munster with cowardice for listning to it : he even told him in the presence of the ambassadors, that the paleness of his countenance apparently betrayed his want of courage ; with many other expressions reflecting on the conduct and personal bravery of the King. This is one of the effects, and not one of the most odious, of a Prince's delivering himself up blindly to a favourite ; who almost always consults his own interest or passions more than those of his master, though they make his master despised, and himself hated. This was exactly the case of the Abbot of Inis-cathy. The King of Munster, who if he had done himself justice should have from that moment banished the Abbot from his councils, contented himself with only denying FLAHERTY's charge against him ; saying it was not through fear, that he was averse to the war, but through the apprehension he had of the evil consequences of it ; which would certainly prove fatal to his own life, and might end in the Abbot's destruction.

Though CORMAC suppressed his resentment of the insolence with which his favourite had traduced him, yet there can be no doubt but that it stung him very severely, for we are told that as soon as he had made this reply, he retired to his tent, with very evident signs of melancholy and disturbance in his countenance. As soon as it was known that the audience of the ambassadors was at an end, the chief officers of the army repaired to the King's tent to be informed of the result of it. The King assuring them that the war must be carried on, and expressing great uneasiness and dejection on that account, as well knowing that his death was at no great distance, the officers endeavoured to cheer his spirits and persuaded him to refresh himself. But CORMAC was not to be so diverted : the
pre-

presentiment of falling in the field of battle fate heavy upon his mind; but he commanded the company not to divulge the secret upon any account, lest it should intimidate the troops, with whom he intended to sell his life at a dear rate. FLAN.

After a short conversation of this kind, his Majesty desired to be left alone, that he might spend the little leisure he had from public affairs, in preparing himself for his dissolution. To this end he sent for his confessor to the tent, and added a codicil to his will, relating to his interment, if they could recover his body from the enemy. At the same time came MANACH, confessor to the King's confessor, a man of real piety and benevolence; in order to heal the breach if possible, and to persuade the King to avoid the shedding of so much blood. When he had used all the arguments that could be drawn from humanity and religion, in support of his advice, which he addressed no doubt to CORMAC, in his character of Archbishop, and found they were urged in vain, he then applied himself to him as a soldier and a King; shewing the little chance there was of his success from the superior number of the enemy. He informed him, that FLAN the Monarch of Ireland, disgusted at his refusing such honourable conditions as had been offered him, had joined the forces of Leinster with the royal army, and was then actually at the palace of that King with his guards, as his auxiliary. He represented therefore to CORMAC, the prudence and policy of accepting the hostages as preliminaries of a treaty; instead of referring their dispute to the decision of a battle, in which it was almost certain his army would be defeated.

The King of Munster could have had but a small share of that wisdom, justice, and goodness, for which the historians have so much extolled him, if

FLAN. he had not been won by this advice: and it was no sooner known to the camp, that the royal army had joined the troops of Leinster, than that many of the Momonian soldiery deserted, which still made his number less; and all that remained declared for a peace. They talked aloud of the reasonableness of the terms, and of the quality of the hostages that were proposed, being of no less rank than Princes; the son of the King of Offory, and the son of the King of Leinster; they even openly accused the Abbot of Inis-cathy, as the seducer of the King in this quarrel, and as the author of all the miseries it might produce.

But CORMAC, with all his wisdom, justice, and goodness, though he was convinced by MANACH's reasoning, by his own inclinations, and by the aversion which his army shewed to the war, that it would be unjust, that it would be dangerous, nay, that it would be destructive to carry it on, yet so enslaved he was by his favourite—as all Kings that have favourites are—and his favourite was a man of such an impetuous, over-ruling, implacable disposition, that nothing could soften him into compliance; and nothing could tempt the King to thwart him. Orders were therefore given to strike their tents, to break up the camp, and march on towards the enemy. When they came to the plains of Magh Albhe, which the King intended for the field of battle, a camp was marked out and fortified by the side of a wood, in which he staid to receive the enemy. The order of battle was here appointed, by which the army was divided into three bodies, the first was commanded by the King of Offory and the Abbot of Inis-cathy, CORMAC himself commanded the second, and at the head of the third was the King of the Deisies.

When

When an army engages in a cause which they FLAN, dislike, under a King whom they despise, and a General whom they hate, it is no wonder that they fight without courage and without spirit : the forces of Munster were under all these circumstances ; and to add to their discouragement, the enemy were represented as being five to one. On the other hand, the allied army, with the Monarch of Ireland at their head, having a good cause to fight for, and much superior force, came on to the field of battle as to certain victory. But this was not all that was on their side. As soon as the signal was made for battle, a Momonian General of the blood royal, who had been from the first averse to the war, and detested the influence of the favourite, rode through the ranks, and addressing himself aloud to the soldiers, and accusing the rashness of the Abbot, persuaded them to leave the priest and his clergy to fight it out by themselves, and to save their own lives by flight. Having said this, he clapped spurs to his horse, and galloped out of the field : and the soldiers who heard, and saw what had passed, were so dispirited, that they threw down their arms at the first charge, and shifted for themselves.

Nor was this the only accident that struck a pannick into the forces of the King of Munster. Another General, of no less a rank than the King of Offory, who had the joint command of the right wing with the Abbot of Inis-cathy, being amazed and shocked with the dreadful slaughter of his men by the superior numbers of the enemy, rode full speed out of the field ; calling to the soldiers to follow his example before it was too late. This advice being instantly taken, the rest of the army were so discouraged, that the defeat became universal. The engagement was begun with so irresistible a fury, and the flights were so sudden that it

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lasted

FLAN. lasted but a little time; and the chief of the slaughter was in the pursuit. The King of Ossory was himself too late to escape: and if any person of rank were saved, after the first fury of the allied army was abated, they were saved not so much from a principle of humanity, as, for the sake of a large sum expected for their ransom. Many of the eminent clergy, principal officers, and nobility, among whom were six of the petty princes of Munster, fell in the action of that fatal day.

The Abbot of Inis-cathy, the author of all this mischief, was among the prisoners; and perhaps he would have thought it happier to have been of the number of the slain. The King of Munster, who exposed himself at the head of his troops in the front of the battle, was flung from his horse into a pit with so much violence, that he was not able to rise: and being seen in this situation by some of his men who were flying out of the field, they remounted him on another horse with some difficulty, and left him to shift for himself. He soon discovered one of his officers, who was much in his favour, making up to him; and understanding that his army was entirely routed and the slaughter almost incredible, he commanded the officer instantly to leave him, and provide for his own safety; which with great reluctance was complied with. CORMAC, according to his prediction, expected every moment when his enemies would fall upon him without giving him quarter: but his death was such as might have happened in any other field as well as in a field of battle. For the King attempting to climb a steep ascent—made exceeding slippery says the historian with the blood of the slain—his horse made a false step, and tumbling with his rider down to the bottom, the neck and backbone of the King were broke, and he died upon the spot.

Thus

Thus ended the life of the famous CORMAC FLAN. MAC CUILLENAN, archbishop of Cashell and King of Munster; who had not most certainly that consummate wisdom, and many eminent virtues, which the writers of those times attributed to him. The reviving those feuds and animosities in the kingdom which had lain so long a-sleep, by making warlike preparations against the King of Leinster, and his refusing those honourable conditions offered him that he might prosecute that war, these fully the virtuous part of his character very much. But the giving himself up so entirely and implicitly to the direction of his favourite the Abbot of Inis-cathy, contrary to his own judgment and the advice of all his council, nay, contrary to his interest, and the dictates of prudence and common sense, this is such an impeachment of his wisdom and understanding as no excuse can wipe away. His body being found by some of the soldiers of the allied army, they cut off his head and carried it in triumph to the Monarch of Ireland. But FLAN, who had humanity as well as valour — and in a civilized people they are seldom seen apart — instead of rewarding or commending the soldiers for this service, as probably they might expect, upbraided them for violating the law of nations, which forbids the mangling of the dead; and commanded them out of his presence as a set of barbarous ruffians, who had no more veneration for the dignity of a King than for a common trooper. Then taking up the head, and kissing it, the tears standing in his eyes, he lamented the instability of all human greatness, and the sad untimely fate of so religious a Prince and so venerable a prelate; he ordered the body to be searched after, and when it was found, to be interred along with the head according to his desire. Such was the fruit of a war entered into unnecessarily against the judgment

FLAN. ment of the people and the inclinations of the King, in order only to humour a furious implacable hot headed Abbot, and an insolent overbearing favourite.

Is it not strange, that there should be this long detail of the quarrel and war between the two provinces above-mentioned, and yet that we should meet with nothing else, though in a time of profound peace from their foreign enemies, through a period of seven years; not one convention for the regulation of the state, nor any foot-steps of a council held on the score of religion? To what must we impute this barrenness of the great historical facts of a nation, that had so much public business to transact, and so many men of learning to record it? Must we not impute it to the barbarous rage of their Danish and English enemies, which swept all before it? I think we must. For the same men who were so circumstantial in the relation of this dispute, without doubt had given accounts of other affairs in that age, which deserved the attention of posterity as much or more than this: and yet little more is come down to us, except a few particulars which can scarcely be said to deserve a place in such a work as this.

Of such a sort would be the will of CORMAC above-mentioned; if it did not serve to give us an idea of the men and manners of those times. His golden vestment which he wore as an archbishop in divine service, his cloak, his royal robe embroidered with gold and jewels, his armour and coat of mail of polished steel, his golden chain, and his wardrobe, he bequeathed to particular friends; and his legacies to abbies and religious houses are thus enumerated: an ounce of gold, an ounce of silver, his horse and furniture to Ard-finnan; a gold and silver chalice and vestment

ment of silk to Lismore ; a gold and silver chalice, four ounces of gold, and five of silver to Cashell ; three ounces of gold and a mass book to Emly ; an ounce of gold and an ounce of silver to Glendaloch ; a horse and furniture, an ounce of gold and an embroidered vestment to Kildare ; three ounces of gold to Inis-cathy ; three ounces of gold, an embroidered vestment, and his blessing to Mountgaret ; and four and twenty ounces of gold and silver to Ardmagh. The royal psalter which preserved, he said, the ancient records and monuments of his native country which were faithfully transcribed, he left to Cashell where he built the cathedral, to be deposited for the use of future ages. These are the particulars mentioned of the will of CORMAC : and if we consider the excessive scarcity of gold and silver in those times, compared with their infinite profusion at present, these were not inconsiderable trifling benefactions for a provincial King. They were such as many sovereign Princes of Germany are not able to make even in this age of plenty—but to return.

When FLAN the Monarch of Ireland had refreshed his troops after the victory, and received the acknowledgments of the King of Leinster for his assistance, he marched to Ossory. The King of that territory, which was under the King of Munster, it has been observed, was slain in the action ; and there being some dispute among his brothers about the succession, the Monarch went thither to settle it. This being settled to his satisfaction by placing the crown of that petty kingdom on the head of DERMOD, the elder brother, FLAN returned with his army to his own palace. Besides the honour of the victory, CAROL the King of Leinster led home his forces laden with spoils,

FLAN, spoils, and a great number of prisoners of the most distinguished rank to grace his triumph.

Among the foremost of these, was FLAHERTY Abbot of Inis-cathy, and who was of the blood royal of Munster. The clergy and people of Leinster were so enraged against this man, and so deservedly, as the only author of the war, and the cause of all the bloodshed on both sides, that they upbraided him, as he was led along, in the most opprobrious language; which to one of his haughty imperious spirit must be a mortification more painful perhaps than death. Nor was this the only punishment inflicted upon him: for he was imprisoned very closely and very severely treated during the life of CAROL, and for a year after his death. It will be out of the order of time, but as his story is not connected with any other part of the history, I shall finish it here at once. When he was released from his imprisonment and had received his pardon, the Abbess of St. Bridget, apprehending the mob would tear him to pieces, prevailed with some of the clergy to go with a guard and escort him out of the province of Leinster. He retired to his monastery of Inis-cathy, and gave himself up to devotion; under a due sense, one would hope, of his former unrighteous spirit. Here he continued in the regular exercise of a religious, till the throne of Munster became vacant by the death of CORMAC's successor, to which he was then called as the next heir: and notwithstanding his former insolence and self-will, he had learned so good a lesson by the fate of his advice and by his imprisonment, that he governed this province with great applause to his death; possessed of the affections as well as the obedience of all his subjects.

In a short time after the great battle of Leinster, **FLAN** the Monarch died a natural death, after the extraordinary long reign of thirty seven years ; and **NIAL** the fourth, son of **HUGH** the sixth his predecessor, succeeded him in the throne. The Danes having had intelligence of the late dissensions in Ireland, thought this was a proper season to renew their insults upon that island ; which they knew would be a successful and dangerous expedition, as long as the Irish continued united among themselves. A great fleet was therefore now fitted out for the invasion of Ireland : and before **NIAL** had tasted the sweets of royalty or was seated well on the throne, he was obliged to put his life and kingdom upon the hazard of a battle in the plains of Ulster : which though it ended in his favour, yet proved very bloody to both armies.

NIAL
IV.
A. D.
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About the same time another party of these foreigners landed on the coast of Leinster, and ravaged that province with their usual cruelty. The King gathered his forces as soon as he could against them, and gave them battle. But his forces were routed by the skill and conduct of the Danish General ; and above six hundred of the provincial troops left dead upon the spot. Encouraged by this success, they sent home for a supply of men and arms to enlarge their conquests. A reinforcement was sent as soon as possible, and arrived under the conduct of **SITRICK**, and the sons of that experienced general, who had got the victory in the last engagement. No sooner had they joined the former body, than they renewed their hostilities with their accustomed fury ; and the city of Dublin was taken by storm.

The Monarch being alarmed with the reinforcement, and their success against his capital, resolved to oppose their progress : and collecting all the force he could in so short a time, which through

NIALL too much haste was inferior to the enemy, he gave them battle. Had he staid to collect the choicest troops of the four provinces, instead of two, though it would have been at the expence of more plunder and violence, his resentment in the end would have been cheaper to his people, and the defeat of the Danes might have been complete. But **NIALL** being a Prince of great resolution and intrepidity, and being impatient to take his revenge on these insulting enemies, he marched against them only with the northern forces; and to this he owed his own defeat and death, and his country their misfortunes for many years. The Irish made the attack with their usual fierceness, and mowed down the ranks of the Danes with a terrible slaughter: but these pouring in fresh numbers continually, and the strength and spirits of the Irish being exhausted, the Danes fell upon them in their turn with great fury; the vanquished natives gave way; the pursuit was hot and bloody; and **NIALL**, with most of his Generals, fell in the field of battle, with his sword in his hand, in defence of his country and deserving a better fate.

DONO. On the death of this Monarch, who sat but three years on the throne, **DONOGH** the second a son of the late King **FLAN**, was elected to succeed him: a man of mean abilities, and unworthy of his descent, as well as the crown he held; if we may judge from the inconsiderable figure which he made in a reign of five and twenty years, amidst great distractions of his country. The first public occurrence of this reign which is handed down to us, relates to a short contest about the succession to the throne of Munster on the death of **FLAHERTY** the Abbot of Inis-cathy so often mentioned above. **KENNEDY** the son of **LORCAN**, whom **CORMAC** nominated for his successor, put in his claim upon this vacancy, and he had a great party for

for him. But the mother of CEALLACHAN, a Prince of that house, fearing her son should be excluded from his right, who had no military force to support it, and being a woman of address as well as spirit and resolution, she went to KENNEDY alone and unattended, expostulated with him about the injustice of his design, and asserting her son's title persuaded his rival to relinquish his pretensions.

The affair of the succession to the throne of Munster being thus adjusted, and CEALLACHAN proclaimed King of that province, the Danes made such bold incursions into it at that time, that he was forced immediately upon a battle to defend his crown. In this, and several more which followed close upon one another, the advantage was on the side of the provincial troops; and in one of them the wife and sister of the Danish General were taken prisoners; who were treated by CEALLACHAN with great politeness at Waterford till their release. The Danes were reduced to such difficulties by so many defeats, that they thought proper to abandon the province of Munster, and to look out for other settlements; and for the present they joined themselves to their countrymen in Dublin, and its adjacent territories, appointing SITRICK the General to be their King.

The historians make this man the son of TURGESIUS, the old tyrant they had smarted so much under; and I wish it was the only instance of their want of precision, through a negligence of chronology and calculation. His grandson he might be; and though it was not impossible, yet it was highly improbable, he should have been his son. But be the relationship what it might, the qualities of his mind were not unsuitable to his descent. The same savage cruelty, hate, and treachery, which were practised by the former, were equalled if not exceeded

DONO. exceeded by the latter. To be drove by force of arms from the fertile province of Munster, where the Danes under his conduct had made themselves settlements in and near the sea-ports, was an event that wrung the proud heart of SITRICK; and therefore what he could not effect by force, he was resolved to atchieve by fraud.

II.

Having found out that **DONOGH** the Monarch of Ireland, was upon ill terms with **CEALLACHAN** the King of Munster, to whom his own defeats had been chiefly owing, he thought it expedient for the success of his whole plan, to communicate it to the Monarch; without whose approbation it would not be policy to attempt the execution of it. The King of Munster, who was of an enterprising spirit, and of a genius much superior to the Monarch, had refused, it seems, to pay him the usual tax or chief rent, claimed by his predecessors as sovereigns of the island, and the homage and submission always made to them as such. His reasons for this refusal do not appear; and if they did, perhaps it would not be in our power to vindicate this refusal. The Monarch however had the old remedy to have recourse to, the calling him to an account at the head of his army. But **CEALLACHAN** had given so many shining proofs of his valour and conduct in the field of battle against the Danes, that the Monarch chose rather to sit down quiet under the injury, than to try to redress it in a hostile manner.

When **SITRICK** therefore communicated his stratagem to them, in which he hoped to destroy the King of Munster, instead of being startled and shocked at the treachery, as even a generous enemy would have been, the Monarch not only consented to, but applauded it: nay he went further; he promised the perfidious monster who projected it, his friendship and alliance after its execution.

The

The Dane having secured this material point, proceeded directly upon his plan. He sent a messenger to CEALLACHAN, to inform him that as he did not intend to renew hostilities against the province of Munster, and yet had a great desire to remain in Ireland, so he should be very glad to enter into a treaty offensive and defensive with him ; and to shew his own sincerity in this proposal, and to cement the alliance the stronger, he offered him his sister of the royal house of Denmark, a lady of great beauty, in marriage. If these terms were accepted, he promised to send Danish hostages of quality to ensure the performance of them.

The messenger of SITRICK had no sooner made these proposals to the King of Munster, than he accepted them. The King himself was honest and open hearted ; and a suspicion of treachery never entered into his thoughts. He had seen and conversed with the Princess when she was his prisoner ; and being naturally amorous, and fired with the remembrance of her beauty, the dishonour of marrying into the family of the mortal enemy and invader of his country, and of acquiescing in their settlement there, appeared under the specious disguise of establishing peace and tranquillity in his province. Thus being overjoyed, instead of being startled, with the proposal, he required no hostages ; he made no difficulties of acceding to a treaty offered him by an inveterate and a vanquished foe : he scrupled none of the terms of it ; and in short, as though this proposal contained every thing, which these savage invaders could do to atone for the miseries which they had brought upon his native country, or which the Irish ought to desire for their security against them for the future, CEALLACHAN sent back the Danish messenger with an assurance of his consent to the treaty offered, and
of

DONO. of his repairing as soon as possible to the court of
II. **SITRICK**, in order to ratify it by his marriage
 ——— with the Princess.

Nothing was now heard of in the province of Munster but the noble and expensive preparations for this journey and wedding. Besides a splendid retinue and a princely equipage, orders were given for the guards and the choicest troops of the province to be got in readiness to attend him; in order to conduct the Queen home to his palace with the state and magnificence which were suitable to the occasion, and to her quality. As soon as **KENNEDY** was informed of the King's intention, for whom he had kindly waved his own pretensions to the crown, living always after upon terms of strict friendship with him, he represented to **CEALLACHAN** the great imprudence of taking the flower of his troops as well as his guards; and, for the sake of making a little more parade, leaving the province open and defenceless against any invader. A suspicion of treachery on the part of the Dane never struck the mind of **KENNEDY** more than it did that of the King; and it is no wonder. For if he considered at all, the terms of accommodation so advantageous to the foreigners, without any acquisition to the natives but a wife for one of their Princes who well deserved her, that there was no room to suspect any insidious purpose under this proposal.

But there was great room to suspect, that the Monarch of Ireland, who was incensed at the refusal above-mentioned, of the usual homage and tribute, might take this opportunity, if the province was left unguarded, to invade and plunder it: and **KENNEDY** no doubt had this suspicion upon his mind, though the historians say nothing of it, when he advised the King to take with him only a few of his body guards, and some of the
 young

young nobility ; offering his own son, a Prince of the House of Munster, to attend him. It is not improbable that KENNEDY, who was zealous for the good and safety of his country, and by not being entangled in the charms of love for the Princess, had his mind free and disengaged, might discern the weakness, if not the danger and dishonour, of this alliance ; and perceiving that, might attempt to dissuade the King from entering into the treaty. The King however, it is certain, would look upon that argument with very different eyes ; and all the reasoning of KENNEDY upon it would have been in vain. This is not, it must be owned,—historian like—laying the cause of CEALLACHAN'S conduct very deep : but I have always been of opinion, that, instead of diving into the secrets of the cabinet, in order to find the motives of the conduct of Princes, if historians would descend from the character of politicians and be only men, if they would study the progression and the artifices of love, and dive into the intrigues of the bedchamber where any such can exist, they would bid fairer than they do for a true explanation of public councils ; even of councils which produce the most important revolutions in every country. The truth and pertinency of this reflection must be the apology for its introduction here [a].

However

[a] The unnatural lasciviousness of one of our own Queens, which—without having heard any anecdotes relating to it—is easily enough to be collected from the letters published in certain memoirs about thirty years ago, was the sole occasion of greater familiarity and a more unlimited confidence and submission, than any interest or abilities could merit, or than was ever seen before, from a sovereign to a subject of the same sex. But the fa-

DONO.
H.

However CEALLACHAN might be blinded as to the impropriety of the treaty, yet he saw clearly enough the importance of that advice which KENNEDY had given with regard to the province: and therefore taking with him only his body guards, a few of the nobility, and DUNCHAN the son of KENNEDY, he began his journey; committing to the father the care of the province during his absence. The news of his arrival within the environs of Dublin, where the Danish Prince kept his court, being brought to SITRICK, his wife, who was an Irish lady of great family, expostulated with him upon the imprudence and mean spiritedness of giving so fine a woman, as his sister was, to a provincial Prince, the mortal enemy of the Danish race; and who had been the means of destroying so many of their prime nobility. But SITRICK, who had nothing further from his heart than this alliance, heard his wife's expostulation with great patience; and though she was a native of Ireland, yet she was his wife, and he had a confidence in her fidelity. He told her therefore very frankly, that he had made this proposal with no other view in the world than to get CEALLACHAN into his power, and to effect that by stratagem which he could not do by force. Instead of the nuptial pleasures which the King promised himself with his sister, he assured her that his Majesty should be made a sacrifice to the ghosts of those renowned Danes whom he had destroyed.

vourite taking advantage of this irregular passion, and becoming insolent and imperious, grew disgustful: above all, the passion was diverted to a new and much younger object; and this was the true and only source of a catastrophe in politicks, perhaps the most extraordinary that ever happened in any country; but which contemporary writers have laboured with great art and refinement to explain from other causes.

The

The wife of SITRICK heard the discovery of this secret with real horror and astonishment ; but she had presence of mind enough to hear it without any visible emotion or dislike. Could a native of Ireland, could a woman of a good heart, could a Christian hear of such an infamous piece of treachery in order to execute such a savage purpose, and not conceive a detestation for the horrid monster who had contrived it ? Could such a man, though he was her husband, be entitled to her fidelity, when that fidelity must make her a partaker of his guilt ? What then had she to do under this dilemma but to act the part which she did act ? she arose early the next morning, and disguising herself as much as she could, went privately out of Dublin ; taking the road which she knew that CEALLACHAN must come through. As soon as he arrived at the place where she stood, she discovered herself to the King, related the horrid treachery of her husband, and advised him to seek his safety in a quick retreat. Having thus quieted her mind, without bringing SITRICK into any danger, she made the best of her way home unobserved by any body. Though no other motives than what have been already assigned, are necessary to account for the conduct of this lady, after the secret of the perfidy was disclosed to her, yet a motive seems to be wanting to account for her great unwillingness that the King of Munster should be married to her husband's sister ; with which, as an Irish woman, and a woman of sense, she should rather have been delighted. There should therefore be another reason for this inconsistency, as well as for the step she took to preserve him ; and it seems there was another, more powerful than all these put together ; of which perhaps some of my readers may have formed a suspicion, though it hath not been men-

DUNO. II. tioned: she had been secretly in love with CEALLACHAN from the time that she was his prisoner at Waterford with SITRICK's sister. As little therefore could she endure to see him in the possession of another, though she was a woman of honour and could not hope to enjoy him herself, as she could to see him sacrificed to her husband's vengeance.—But to return to the King of Munster.

As soon as he had received this authentic intelligence, which equally mortified and amazed him, he turned back with his retinue in order to escape the snare which had been laid for him, and which he was so near falling into. But whether SITRICK had any suspicion that his secret had transpired, or whether he apprehended that CEALLACHAN might escape the assassination when he had him in his hands at Dublin, he ordered two parties of Danish soldiers, one on each side of the road, at a distance not to be discovered, to close in his rear as he advanced towards the city, that his retreat might be cut off. No sooner therefore had the King of Munster made a motion to return, than he found himself stopped and surrounded by the guards of SITRICK, who did great execution among his men. However when his men had recovered from the surprise which such an unexpected attack had thrown them into, and had received the King's orders to revenge themselves as well as they could, no time was lost, and no valour was wanting, in falling upon the Danes with a true Irish fury. They fell upon them indeed so irresistibly, that, had it not been for reinforcements continually coming in, the Danes would have been entirely cut to pieces. But they were so near the city when the skirmish began, that the alarm was given immediately; and fresh men poured in so fast upon the Irish, that they could never diminish the number of the enemy, though their own was diminishing every moment.

ment. Though their resistance therefore was long and resolute, yet it was impossible to prevent their defeat; and it was the hard feat of the King, and of his friend DUNCHAN the son of KENNEDY, to be taken prisoners, and led in triumph into Dublin. DONO.
II.

There is no doubt but SITRICK would have been much better pleased if they had encreased the number of the slain; as his trouble about them would then have been at an end. But when they were delivered up to him as prisoners of war, he might have had a scruple in putting them to death; not a scruple of conscience—for he had been deaf to that long before—but a scruple of fear; lest such a flagrant violation of the laws acknowledged in all civilized countries might be returned upon himself and his own people. He offered them therefore such terms of ransom, as he was confident would not be agreed to; and if those were refused, he declared his resolution of removing them to Ardmagh in so many days, and transporting them thence to Norway. The terms of ransom, were no less than the delivering into his hands the towns of Limerick, Cashell, Waterford, and Cork, with all the strong garrisons in the provinces of Munster, and an erick or fine for every officer or soldier killed by the Momonians in the battles fought with the Danes by CEALLACHAN; for the performance of which conditions, the Prince of Munster, and all the sons of the Princes and Chiefs of the province, were to be hostages.

When the King heard these exorbitant demands, he desired leave to send one of his own domesticks, who was taken prisoner with him, to the province; in order to know whether their liberty would be purchased by it at this rate. This request being granted, and the terms of their ransom declared to the messenger, the King instructed

DONO. him privately, to tell KENNEDY, that be his own
 II. and DUNCHAN's fate what they might, he should
 — never allow the Danes any footing in Munster : that
 he should assume the government of the province in
 his absence ; send DONOUGH his general, with the
 best troops he could get together, to Ardmagh, in
 order to rescue them out of the hands of the Danes,
 who would soon remove them thither ; and order
 all the ships in the harbours of Munster to Dun-
 dalk, where the Danish fleet lay, lest the army
 should not arrive soon enough at Ardmagh.

With these advices, the messenger was dispatch-
 ed to KENNEDY : whom he found in a condition al-
 most ready to execute them. For when such of
 the guards, as had the good fortune to escape, re-
 turned home from the late skirmish, and related
 the news of the Danish treachery, with the slaughter
 of their comrades, and the captivity of their King
 and DUNCHAN, the whole province was in an up-
 roar, and waited for nothing but the word of com-
 mand to revenge the perfidy of the Danes, and
 to rescue the royal prisoners. This word had
 therefore been given by KENNEDY as the next in
 succession to the King ; and the troops were almost
 all assembled, when the messenger arrived from
 CEALLACHAN.

If the people of the province were fired at the
 treachery of the Danes, and their own King's cap-
 tivity, their resentment was not assuaged by the
 terms insisted on for his ransom ; and KENNEDY
 had no other trouble in pursuing the instructions
 brought by the messenger, than in communicating
 their contents. A thousand of the Dalgais had
 been assembled by his orders about Cashell ; and
 three thousand of the Eugenians had been collect-
 ed through the zeal and activity of the General
 DONOUGH. When the express therefore arrived
 with these advices from the King, the forces were
 joined

joined as soon as possible; and being put under **DONO-**
 the command of **DONOUGH**, and the three bro- **II.**
 thers of **KENNEDY**, who were to assist him, they
 began their march towards Ardmagh. But before
 their departure, in order to inspire the General
 with particular zeal and ardour upon this occasion,
KENNEDY addressed him with a representation of the
 nobility of his descent, the magnanimity and hero-
 ism of his ancestors, who had been Kings of Mun-
 ster, the probability of his success against their
 perfidious enemies, and the importance of the pro-
 vince, and the glory to himself, which would be
 derived from it. In their march they were joined
 by several other parties of the Dalgais, out of
 Thomond and other places; which, before they
 had quitted the province, made the army not less
 than six thousand strong.

I have already taken notice, as a very extraor-
 dinary and amazing circumstance in the history
 of the Irish, that though they had been so often,
 and for almost an hundred years, subject to the ra-
 vages of the Danes, though they were situated up-
 on an Island, and were no otherwise therefore to
 be attacked by these Barbarians than by sea, yet
 in all this time we hear of no naval armament
 among the Irish. Fleets of transports to invade
 Britain and Gaul, we have read of in some centu-
 ries past; but no military skill on board ships, ei-
 ther to defend themselves or attack an enemy,
 hath till this occasion been related. We are now
 told, as it hath been observed, that **CEALLACHAN**
 sent instructions for all the naval force of Munster
 to be made ready, and to engage the Danish fleet,
 which were riding in the harbour of Dundalk, in
 order to carry him into Norway. This order be-
 ing obeyed with the same alacrity that had been
 shewn in collecting the land forces, the command
 of the expedition was given to **FAILBHE**, the

DONO.
IL

King of Desmond ; and about the same time that the Army began its march towards Ardmagh, the fleet set sail for the harbour of Dundalk, consisting of seventy ships well manned and armed. Though neither cannon nor fire arms were then invented, yet how such a force as this, so capable of annoying an enemy with their arrows, darts, and javelins, in close quarters, and their swords and daggers when they laid each other on board, came to be so long neglected, it is impossible for us to say ; nor can any good excuse, in my opinion, be invented for them.

While the army halted in Conaught, for the sake of forage and provisions, a party of archers, and another party armed with swords and targets from Munster, to the number of five hundred each, joined the main body in support of the common cause ; the deliverance of their King, and the son of KENNEDY. The forces of Munster were by this time grown to a very formidable army, which raised contributions upon the country for its subsistence. The Prince of Conaught, who ought perhaps to have lent his aid against the Danes, finding the people aggrieved and harrassed by these contributions, applied himself to the general ; and remonstrated against the injustice of plundering those who were not parties in the quarrel ; desiring that he would order the booty to be restored, which the Momonian soldiers had collected. Had this remonstrance and demand been as just as they were unreasonable, it was not in the power of DONOUGH, to prevent the one, or to comply with the other. The army was marching against the common enemy of the Irish ; it was impossible to carry sufficient provision with them ; it must be subsisted on its march ; and their friends ought voluntarily to have furnished them without any compulsion. But to shew the Prince of Conaught, that it was
merely

merely for the sake of subsistence, and not of plunder, that the army distressed the subjects of his father, DONOUGH assured him, that if any provisions remained after the necessities of his men were satisfied, they should be returned.

DONO.
II.

As reasonable an answer as this may appear to be to the reader, it did not content the Prince of Conaught; and with the true implacable spirit of an offended Irishman, rather than not take his revenge, he would take it at the expence of his own country, and though it should advantage the common enemy. The Momonian army therefore being too powerful for him to meddle with, he privately sent intelligence to the Danes, that it was upon the march towards them, and at all events determined to free their King and DUNCHAN from their imprisonment. As soon as SITRICK had received this information, who was waiting at Ardماغh, where the prisoners were, for KENNEDY's answer to his proposals, he ordered the Danish Earls who had the care of their imprisonments to march out of the city with all their troops, and give the Momonians battle; whilst he with his guards might safely and unperceived remove the prisoners aboard the fleet at Dundalk.

Whether SITRICK thought only to make a diversion for this purpose, by ordering his forces to give battle to the Irish army so much superior to them in number, and that they might make good their retreat without any considerable loss, or whether he intended to remove the prisoners at all events, even to the sacrificing his army that was detached to cause this diversion, as soon as DONOUGH was informed in the beginning of the action with them, by some whom he had made prisoners, that the King and DUNCHAN were carried away to Dundalk, being enraged at the disappointment, he ordered no quarter to be given, and scarce a
Dane

Dono. Dane outlived to tell the defeat. On the next morning early he marched the army to Dundalk, in hopes to surprize the Danish General, and recover the liberty of his prisoners. But the few Danes who had escaped the slaughter having fled thither, and informed **SIR RICK** of the strength of the Munster army, he found it would be impossible for him to oppose them; and that there was no other way left to secure his prisoners, or to provide for his own safety and that of his men, but by getting them all, as fast as possible, on board his ships which lay in the bay.

The embarkation was scarce effected, when the army of Munster reached Dundalk; where they hoped to inclose the Danes as in a net, and either make them prisoners of war, or put them all to the sword; but they had no sooner entered the place under this expectation, than they found themselves again disappointed, their King carried aboard, and the enemy out of their reach. Whilst they were crouding along the shore, lamenting this misfortune, and meditating a way to redress it, they saw a large fleet under a brisk gale of wind steering directly towards the Danish ships, which they soon perceived to be the fleet from Munster. In the same proportion in which they were elated with this discovery, the Danes were surpris'd and terrified. For when once they were embarked, they thought themselves as much out of the reach of the Irish, as though they had been landed in their own country. But instead of this safety, they found themselves on a sudden in the utmost peril. There was no possibility of escaping the Irish fleet, which would be almost along-side of them before they could weigh anchor and get under sail, and if they attempted to disembark, they were sure to be cut to pieces by the Irish army. There was therefore no security for them in this situation, but
in

in their valour and dexterity; and in these they must confide. DONO.
II.

The Irish admiral, if he may be called so, perceiving the Danes in the utmost hurry and confusion at his approach, made all the haste he could to begin the attack; consistently with that order and disposition of his ships, on which the success of naval engagements in a great measure depends. If the Danes were under a manifest disadvantage in having scarce time enough to form into a line of battle, yet they were much superior in the number of men, having all the guards, and the remainder of their land forces on board; which, in ships without ordnance, make the principal part of their strength. The Irish commander, like a brave man, sought out the ship of the Danish general, and after attacking it with great impetuosity, boarded it sword in hand. He had been scarce a moment on board, before he saw CEALLACHAN bound to the mast. Nothing but the sight of his King in that position, whose liberty was the great object of the expedition which he had the command of, could add to the fire of his valour on that occasion: but this sight set his valour in a blaze of fury; and regardless of prudence, safety, or any other consideration, he made his way to him through blood and slaughter. As soon as he had cut the cords with his sword, which had fastened him to the mast, he advised him instantly to repair aboard the Irish ship he had quitted, and leave him to fight it out with the General of the Danes. There was no time for consultation, and CEALLACHAN took his advice; but though nothing could exceed the spirit and activity of the Irish Admiral, who seemed something more than man, and who dealt death and destruction round him, yet he was not immortal. Surrounded at last by the Danish guards, and too few of his own seamen having boarded the ship with him

DONO. him to clear the deck, he was over-powered by numbers, and fell covered with blood and wounds.

II.

The Danish General, being convinced, that upon the loss of his own ship would in all probability follow the loss of all his fleet, exerted his skill and valour in order to save it: and that he might strike a terror and dismay into the Irish, he caused the head of **FAILBHE** their Admiral to be cut off and exposed to view. **FINGALL**, the Admiral's second, being thus informed of his fate, resolved to revenge his death; and calling to his men to follow him, they boarded the Dane with irresistible fury. The contest was hot and bloody; but there being so many fresh men to supply the place of the slaughtered or disabled Danes, the Irish had no prospect of obtaining the victory. As unable however as **FINGALL** was to possess himself of the Danish ship, he was too valiant an Irishman to think of retreating to his own; especially without the destruction of **SITRICK**, in revenge of the death of **FAILBHE**. He took a resolution therefore in this dilemma, which is not perhaps to be paralleled in any history. Making his way up to **SITRICK**, with his sword, against all that opposed him, he grasped him close in his arms and threw himself with him into the sea; where they both perished together. Two other Irish Captains, being fired with the glory of this action of **FINGALL**'s, and being intent on securing the victory to their countrymen, made their way through the enemy with redoubled fury, and boarding the ship in which were **TOR** and **MAGNUS**, the surviving brothers of **SITRICK**, and then the chief commanders of the Danes, rushed violently upon them, caught them up in their arms, after the example of **FINGALL**, and jumping over board with them, they were all lost together.

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The Danes being equally astonished and dismayed at these desperate exploits of the Irish, having lost their General and his brothers as well as vast numbers of other officers and men, and the royal prisoners being released, began to lose much of their courage, and to think all opposition in vain. The Irish perceiving the enemy dispirited and giving way, pursued their success with so much the more ardour; and boarding most of the Danish fleet, a horrible slaughter ensued. Nor did the Momonians obtain this victory—the first engagement at sea which the Irish ever attempted—without prodigious loss. The Danes, besides their numbers, had greatly the superiority in point of skill in naval encounters; and they not only fought for their present safety, but for their future peace and establishment in the island. On the other side the Irish contended not only for victory, but to redeem their King and country out of the hands of these treacherous and cruel enemies. This was therefore the most obstinate and bloody battle that had been known between them for many years. The army which stood on the shore in sight of the whole engagement were like men distracted, because they were so near and yet could give no assistance to their countrymen; who were overmatched in skill and numbers, and who for a great while had no prospect of obtaining the victory: at last however it was completed, though very dearly bought, and a few only of the lightest galleys of the Danes escaped to sea.

The reader will easily figure to himself the acclamations of the army, and the expressions of mutual joy, when the Irish fleet approached the shore after a victory so extraordinary. Nor was CEALLACHAN himself less delighted with his deliverance from a constant apprehension of death or slavery, through

Dono. through the savage and tyrannical temper of **SIR-RICK**; with whom neither humanity nor the laws of nations had any weight. The King therefore ordered the most grateful acknowledgments to be made to all his forces by sea and land for their fidelity and affection, and especially to the former, by whose invincible courage he was enabled to regain his freedom. Having given instructions for the care of the wounded and the prisoners, and having provided sufficiently for his fleet, he put himself once more at the head of his army, in order to return to the government of his province.

The King of Leinster, a man of a mean and servile disposition, envious of the glory which the Momenians had acquired, though over the enemies of his country, prepared to obstruct his passage through his dominions, and to harass him in his march. To this purpose he collected all the forces he could at so short a warning, intending to place them in different ambuscades—for he was neither generous nor strong enough to attack them openly—that they might fall upon the army of **CEALLACHAN**, when they expected no opposition and were prepared for no defence. But with what secrecy soever he might form this base and treacherous plan against his countrymen, he could not carry it into execution without its being known in part to the King of Munster. The gathering his troops together at that time, without any apparent motive, was enough to cause an alarm; and there must be those about him, who had so much love for their native country, as to detest and betray such an apostate from it. It is certain however that **CEALLACHAN** by some means or other had timely notice of this design; and being outrageously incensed at so much unnatural and unprovoked perfidy, he proclaimed it to his whole army; ordering

ing no quarter to be given to the men of Leinster who engaged in such a cause, but to hunt them down as robbers and beasts of prey. This is one, amongst many, of the diabolical effects of war; that innocent men, forced upon a service which they perhaps abhor, must be sacrificed to the pride, ambition, or malice of their masters. But these severe injunctions of CEALLACHAN being carried by some deserters to the King of Leinster—and probably by connivance, if not by order—he stood in so much fear of the resentment of the Mononians, who were flushed with victory, and who were then prepared to receive him, that he desisted from his enterprize; and dismissing his forces left the army of Munster to prosecute their march without any molestation.

The joy of that province at the return of their King from his captivity, who was justly beloved for his many eminent virtues, may easily be conceived without any assistance from the historian. When he had settled himself in his government, and had thoroughly refreshed and recruited his forces, reflecting on the oppression and the treachery of the Danes from which he had just had a very narrow escape, he resolved to collect the whole strength of his province, to fall upon them in every quarter, and if possible to expel them all out of his kingdom. To this purpose he began with those that inhabited in and about Limerick, and without much opposition obtained a complete victory; slaughtering five hundred, and making prisoners of all the rest. From hence he marched his army to the country of Cashell, where was a great deal of plunder defended by five hundred Danes: the former he took, and the latter he put to the sword. The Danish General having received intelligence of this defeat, gave him battle with an intention to recover the plunder: but the Mononians

DONO. monians were too strong for him : a great part of
II. his army was destroyed ; and he himself with the
 — remainder very difficultly escaped on board their
 ships and put to sea. Having thus cleared his
 country of these invaders, and secured peace
 to his province, he made an alliance with the
 King of the Deisies, to whom he gave his sister in
 marriage ; and in a short time after descended
 quietly to his grave, to the inexpressible disadvan-
 tage and grief of all his subjects.

In all probability the succession to the crown of
 Munster at the death of CEALLACHAN was much
 contested : for a conspiracy was formed by some of
 the near relations of the succeeding King, which
 in two years put an end to his life and reign to-
 gether. MAHON, the son of KENNEDY above-
 mentioned, was then called to the crown ; who
 had one brother King of Thomond at that time,
 and another called BRIAN BOROMY, of whom
 the reader will see a great deal in the next book,
 who was then a general in the Munster army. As
 we hear no more [of the father nor] of the brother
 DUNCHAN who had been taken prisoner by the
 Danes with CEALLACHAN, it is natural to con-
 clude that they were dead ; and such omissions as
 these occur very frequently in the short historical
 accounts that are handed down of those distant
 times. However were such omissions as these the
 only ones, they would not be worth repining at ;
 and may be easily supplied by every discerning re-
 ader. But omissions, of much greater moment to
 good history, occur in every page of the materials
 from which this ancient state of Ireland is com-
 piled ; and though this is to be lamented, it is not
 to be remedied.

The reign of DONOGH, Monarch of Ireland at
 this time, is a pregnant proof of the truth of what
 I have said : for though it continued five and
 twenty

twenty years, yet we meet with nothing at all relating to him but what hath been already mentioned, of his conniving at SITRICK's treachery, and that he carried his army into the territories of Conaught—for what reason it is not said—where he suffered a defeat, and many of his troops were slain. The whole country indeed was harrassed by the Danes and Norwegians all through his reign; and though there must be other matter for history to be recorded, yet the writers of those times, it is said, and I suppose not untruly, were obliged to use the sword in the room of the pen; and instead of relating the transactions of their country, to employ themselves in its defence. In the intervals of peace however, it may be presumed that they returned to the business of their profession, and that all the public affairs of any moment were recollected and set down. But I have more than once accounted for the loss of these narrations in the destruction of their archives by their foreign enemies, and how it happens that there are extracts or abridgments of them in the fragments which have escaped.

In this reign, it has been observed, that the Danes and Norwegians were very troublesome to the Irish in many parts of the island; and for want of harmony and union among the natives, their attempts in general proved successful; for they frequently procured those advantages by fraud which they could not obtain by force. Thus the King of Leinster and his children fell into their hands by treachery; whom they detained in captivity as long as they could, and treated them with great severity. These outrages at length awakened the King of Munster, to revenge the cause of his country upon the common enemy: and by the particulars which are recorded of the action, it seems to have been an engagement between the whole

Dono. body of the Danes in the southern part of the
 II. island on one side, and the Momonians, headed by
 MAHON their King, and his brother BRIAN their
 renowned General, on the other. In this battle
 however the former met with a total overthrow,
 and with the loss of almost all their chief com-
 manders. The governors of Waterford, Cork, and
 Limerick, were among the slain; the number of
 which amounted to two thousand in the field of
 battle: but as they were pursued in their retreat
 into the city of Limerick and chased from street to
 street, the slaughter became more considerable, and
 the victory more complete. The place was given
 up by the King of Munster, to be plundered by
 his troops, as a reward for their zeal and courage;
 and an immense booty of jewels, gold and silver,
 and rich furniture, was found in it. When the
 houses were thoroughly rifled and the plunder car-
 ried off, the town was burnt down, the fortifications
 were dismantled, and the whole city and its suburbs
 rendered an heap of ruins. Soon after this victory,
 MAHON, though a Prince of great valour and con-
 duct, who had an undoubted right to the crown of
 Munster, was for some reason or other, which is
 not mentioned, conspired against by his subjects,
 seized upon, and conducted under a strong guard
 as a prisoner to the territory of Oneachach, where
 he was barbarously put to death.

The great success of the Irish in the southern
 province had a good effect on their countrymen in
 the north; who resolved to oppose the progress of
 the Danes in Ulster. To this end the provincial
 troops were all assembled, under the command of
 MORTOUGH, the son of NEIL their General: and
 the foreigners were attacked with so much vigour
 and resolution, and the action was conducted with
 so much military skill by the Irish General, that the
 Danes were routed, with a slaughter of eight hun-
 dred

dred men, and their three chief commanders. DONO.
 These two defeats, considerable as they were, yet II.
 were rendered much more so in the consequences
 which they had throughout the kingdom. For
 the Danes, having lost their principal officers, and
 the greatest part of their forces, became dispirited : they were afraid lest the Irish, seeing so few of
 them remaining, should agree together at once,
 to fall upon them every where before they had
 procured a fresh supply from Norway, and so ex-
 tirpate their whole race : and had the Irish not
 been doomed to be always sacrificed to their
 own intestine heats and animosities, the fate of
 the Danes at that time might have been such
 as they apprehended. This apprehension how-
 ever induced them to cease from all hostility and
 oppression : and a spirit of freedom and tran-
 quillity being diffused over the island instead
 of slavery and bloodshed, the natives enjoyed a
 state of commerce and prosperity, which they
 had been strangers to for many years.

But this lasted not long. The Danes received a
 reinforcement, which gave them new life, and
 encouraged them to return to their former oc-
 cupations of violence and rapine. The Irish had
 so much experience of the treachery of these
 people, that in the intervals of peace they were
 obliged to be upon their guard, lest their secu-
 rity should prove their ruin ; and it was well for
 them that they were so. Thus, at a celebrated
 fair of Rosorea, at this time, when the public tran-
 quillity was undisturbed, a very formidable body
 of the Danish army made a stolen march, in or-
 der to surprise them, and to carry off all the
 goods and merchandise exhibited on that occasion.
 But the natives brought their arms to defend
 their property in case it should be attacked ; and
 as soon as they received intelligence that the

Dono. Danes were on their march against them, they
 II. left the fair by common consent with their goods
 abroad; and though they had neither skill nor opportunity to draw up in a regular order, yet they fell upon the enemy with so much resolution and unanimity, and the Danes were so much surprized in their turn with this attack, that a pannick took them at the first charge which they could not recover from, and four thousand were killed in the battle and in the pursuit. Such a victory as this, obtained by merchants and tradesmen met together at a publick fair, without order, and without discipline, is a memorable instance of what great things may be effected by a body of men, under an unanimous resolution to conquer or to die.

The inhabitants of the province of Conaught being alarmed at this insidious conduct of the Danes, and roused by the bravery of their countrymen, determined to dispossess the foreigners of that province: in two attempts against them they succeeded to their wishes; but the Danes were so much enraged at these defeats, that they spread themselves over the country, rifling all the churches and religious houses that fell in their way, and plundering the unarmed inhabitants with great cruelty. This however did not abate the courage nor the resolution of the army of Conaught; on the contrary it whetted both; and they took an ample revenge for this last insult on the province, by slaughtering or expelling all the Danes that were concerned in it. But the Danes were not the only foreigners which the Irish had to encounter at that time. **RODERICK**, a Prince of Wales, a brave and experienced General, transported a great army of Welsh, in order to plunder the country, and if possible, to keep possession of it. The natives received him with their wonted valour, and the Prince losing his life in the first charge, the
 greatest

greatest part of his army shared his fate. About this time died **DONOUGH**, the Monarch of Ireland, after a very inglorious, inactive reign of five and twenty years; if not in base alliance and confederacy with the Danes, at least not their enemy.

DONOUGH.
II.

CONGALL the son of **MELMITH**, of the Heremonian line, succeeded him on the throne; but not in his inactivity and want of love for his country. For no sooner did the Danes begin to raise disturbances in his reign, than he collected all his forces to chastize them; and in the memorable battle of Mune-Bregan, defeated them with the slaughter of seven thousand; the most bloody battle, if I remember right, in all their history hitherto. About this time the Danes of Ireland were converted to the Christian faith; and it is said, that they then built the Abbey of St. Mary's, near Dublin, for Monks of the Benedictine order: though others have supposed that it was founded long before.

CONG.
II.
A. D.
944.

MAHON the King of Munster, being put to death in the manner above related, his brother **BRIAN BOROMY**, and the General of his army, mounted the throne. Among so many distinguished warriors of Irish birth, as we have already met with in this work, it is impossible perhaps to say whose spirit was the most magnanimous, whose courage was the most invincible, whose arm had the most strength, whose zeal was most active, whose military skill was greatest, and whose head was crowned with the highest glory. But if **BRIAN** did not excel in all these particulars, it is certain that he equalled the most illustrious in any one of them; and that he had greater success than all his predecessors.

When he had called his own subjects to account that had conspired against his brother, and put an end to the disorders in his province, he sent a

CONG. herald to proclaim war against the King of One-
 II. achach, whose subjects had put MANON to death.

— The King made all the haste he could to provide for his defence ; and thinking his own army not sufficient to make head against the Momonians, he took fifteen hundred Danes into his pay, upon whom he had great dependance. The King of Munster marched at the head of his provincial troops, and had the illustrious tribe of Dalgais in the rear ; and though when the battle was joined, it was fought with great valour, yet the Momonians soon broke through the opposite army, and a terrible carnage ensued. The Danes endeavoured to save themselves by flight : but the greatest part of them were killed in the pursuit, or taken prisoners ; and this success drew the envy and ill-will of the King of the Daifies upon BRIAN.

Whether he had any alliance with the defeated Prince that stirred him up thus to revenge his cause, the history does not inform us : and though it is said, that he was so unnatural as to resolve to take vengeance on the King of Munster for the slaughter of the Danes in this battle, yet it seems incredible that this should have been his only motive, or indeed the principal motive for making war upon him. For though we have had many instances in our own time and country, of very extravagant lengths which men have gone in favour of its public enemies, yet the case before us is widely different : nor does the taking in the Danes by the Irish Princes, as auxiliaries, in their battles with one another, bear any proportion to the crime of taking satisfaction of the King of Munster, for the overthrow which he had given the Danes. We must therefore conclude, I think, that either the King of the Daifies had some alliance or connection with the King of Oneachach, or that he had some animosity against BRIAN, for other reasons

sons than his success against the Danes : and if we should say that envy at his growing fame, which began at that time to surpass the fame of all his contemporaries, had some share in inclining him to make war upon BRIAN, it is an assertion which may be justified from human nature.

But whatever were the motives of DONALD, King of the Dailies, having raised a numerous and well disciplined army amongst his own people, and taken a formidable body of Danes into his pay, he invaded the territories of the King of Munster; and with the fury of an enraged and bitter enemy, spread terror and desolation among the inhabitants. As soon as BRIAN received intelligence of these hostilities, and could get his troops together, he led them directly up to the enemy, whom he found plundering the country in a very merciless manner. It was impossible for the Danes to withstand the valour and impetuosity with which they were attacked by the army of BRIAN; and after a vigorous but short resistance, they were entirely routed. The King of the Dailies seeing his subsidies thus severely handled, and his own forces slaughtering or giving way on every side, sought his own safety as well as theirs by flight. The pursuit was hot and bloody; and as this was merely a war of defence and unprovoked, the Momonians had their just resentments to gratify, as well as to maintain their renown in arms. The defeat therefore of the enemy, and the slaughter of the greatest part of them, did not content the King of Munster and his army: but continuing the pursuit to the town of Waterford, and entering the place with them, they put all the rest to the sword; and DONALD King of the Dailies, was deservedly among the slain. The city, which was then inhabited by the Danes, was sacked and

CONG. II. plundered by the conquerors; and after the booty was sent away, it was set on fire in many places, and consumed to ashes."

This great hero BRIAN, having thus recovered the tranquillity of his province, and by the glory of his successes having established his fame over the island, obliged the southern half of it, called Leath Modha and so often mentioned, to profess allegiance to him and pay him a tribute. But the Irish and Danes in the province of Leinster soon revolted, disowned his authority, and refused the tribute; and BRIAN found it necessary to chastize them for their disobedience by force of arms. Therefore putting himself at the head of his veteran troops whom he had made invincible, he marched to Leinster; and the army of that province, consisting of Danes and Irish, offered them battle. No courage, nor even fury, were wanting on either side; but the Moronians by their experience and superior skill, or by the good genius of their King, in a short time broke the ranks of their enemies, and overthrew them with a terrible slaughter; leaving five thousand dead in the field of battle. The Danes which survived the action were pursued as far as Dublin; in which pursuit a great many more were slain, and hostages were delivered up for the fidelity of those who were spared from the sword. BRIAN then levied his tribute, which was sent with him to Kincora in the county of Clare, where he kept his court; and his victorious troops went into quarters of refreshment.

The only notice, except what has been mentioned, which is handed down of the Monarch CONGALL through a reign of twelve years, is a rupture which he had with the King of Munster soon after this battle—upon what grounds it is not said
—invading

—invading his province in a hostile manner, and putting two of his brothers to the sword. All the other particulars of this expedition, and the manner in which it ended and was revenged by BRIAN, must be left to our own conjecture; for there is no account. It is easy enough to imagine however from the warlike and heroic character of this Prince, that he revenged this indignity from the Monarch of Ireland, and revenged it very severely. The remainder of this reign is taken up with accounts of the great successes of the Danes under the command of GODFREY a son of SITRICK; of their confederacy with the Irish in the province of Leinster; of their plundering the churches and religious houses; and of their carrying away three thousand prisoners, besides gold and silver and other booty to an immense value. The Monarch having marched his army to Ardmagh in order to put a stop to these depredations, was there set upon by the Danes, and their unnatural allies the troops of Leinster, where they were defeated, and slain.

On the death of CONGALL, the throne of Ireland was filled by DONALD O NEILL of the Heremonian line, who may be called DONALD the Fourth; and he sat upon the throne four and twenty years. His reign however was a time of great distraction, through the frequent hostilities of the Danes, and the opposition given to them by the Irish. The Monarch himself, upon some provocation or other, which is omitted, invaded the province of Conaught, whose King had not an army sufficient to make head against him; and DONALD carried off a very valuable booty, and a great number of prisoners. On one side the Danes who inhabited Dublin, made incursions into the county of Kildare, which they plundered, under the command of AMELANUS their General: and on the other

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DON.
IV.

other side the Momonians under BRIAN their King assaulted the Danes who inhabited Limerick, and set it on fire about their ears. The King of Ulster being provoked with the Lagenians, for the assistance they had given to the common enemy, and entering into a confederacy with them against their country, raised a formidable army among his subjects, marched with it into Leinster, and plundered all the province from the Barrow eastward to the sea. Here he encamped for two months, and withstood the united efforts of the Danes and Lagenians to dislodge him and make him retire.

Notwithstanding the frequent perils and discomfitures which the natives brought upon their foreign enemies, yet for want of that harmony which is one great strength of a nation, and being accursed with intestine feuds and animosities, the Danes still continued their ravages in many parts of the kingdom. This induced the monarch at length to fall upon those who inhabited the city of Dublin, and their associates the Lagenians; and a desperate and bloody battle ensued. The slaughter was so great on both sides, and especially among the chiefs, that the victory is given to neither. About the same time, the patriot and the hero BRIAN BOROMY engaged the Danes of Inis-cathy, killed eight hundred upon the spot, and routed all the rest. But KINOTH the primate, so far forgot his country, his religion, and himself, as to assist the foreigners who lived at Dublin against the Irish: for the people of Leinster being weary of the vassalage in which they were held, and taking advantage of the great slaughter which was made of the Danes in the last action between them and the Monarch, in which they lost their three Generals first in command, refused any longer to be their auxiliaries. The Danes, being accustomed to so much submission from them, were irritated at this refusal, and
with

with the assistance of the primate made war upon the provincial troops; in which the Prince of Leinster lost his life. DON. IV.

It is impossible to say what provocations might have tempted the primate to act a part which was so unnatural and so much out of character; and though there might be something, if we knew the whole, which might alleviate his guilt a little, yet no provocations whatever could justify a prelate, a man of a peaceful holy function, in assisting foreigners, if not Pagans, to make war upon his countrymen, and to bring them under their yoke. But if here is the instance of a Bishop turning his crosier into a sword, in favour of those to whom he was bound by every tie to oppose, we have at the same time another instance of a King quitting his throne, leaving his subjects in a time of peril whom he was bound to defend against their enemies, taking the habit of a religious, and shutting himself up in a cell. For immediately after this last victory of the Danes, DONALD the Monarch abdicated the throne, went to the convent at Ardmagh, and ended his days as a Monk. What a reverse of character in two men of the greatest rank in the kingdom; and what a proof of the deceitfulness of the human heart! The King of Munster, as though he was born to be the scourge of the Danes, revenged this last defeat of his countrymen, by giving battle to the foreigners at Inis-cathy; taking their three Generals prisoners, and killing eight hundred men.

On DONALD's quitting the throne, MALACHY the second was elected Monarch of Ireland: and though WARE calls him his son, yet I can find no authority among the Irish writers for this assertion. On the contrary we are told by KEATING, that he was the son of the Monarch FLAN, which seems likewise to have been a mistake; for he had been dead above threescore years at that time: indeed

LYNCH

MALA.
II.
A. D.
980.

MALA. LYNCH and "the book of reigns" have called him
 II. the son of DONALD, but this is explained by
 ——— O'FLAHERTY, who says that MALACHY was the son
 of another DONALD, the son of DONOUGH the
 Monarch, and therefore the grandson of FLAN;
 which accounts for the mistakes of both the au-
 thors above mentioned. It is certain however that
 he was a Prince of the Heremonian house; and in
 the first years of his monarchy he approved him-
 self worthy of his descent, by opposing the free-
 booters with great valour and activity. The bat-
 tle of Tara which he fought against the Danes of
 Dublin, and the sons of HUMPHRY one of the
 Generals whom BRIAN had taken Prisoner, in
 which five thousand of them were slain, makes a
 principal figure in the annals of his reign. Indeed
 this action and the siege of Dublin which soon af-
 ter followed it, with a small rencounter, are the
 only instances which he gave of an active zeal
 against the enemies of his country, during a reign
 of three and twenty years. It is true that though
 he gave no more disturbance to the foreigners, yet
 he was not yet so much addicted to ease and indo-
 lence, but that he could indulge a spirit of ani-
 mosity against his countrymen, and carry hostili-
 ties into Munster for the sake of some quarrel
 which he had with the Dalgais: he took an oppor-
 tunity, whilst the King was assisting the province
 of Connaught with his army against the Danes, to
 make this incursion: but as soon as BRIAN was
 informed of it, he marched back with all speed to
 the rescue of his country, which MALACHY quit-
 ted on his approach: and this animosity was re-
 membered by BRIAN, when he who indulged it
 thought it had been forgotten.

I have mentioned the siege of Dublin, underta-
 ken by this Monarch; and I must now return to it.
 Encouraged by his success at the battle of Tara,
 and

and being not yet corrupted with the ease and luxury of a court, he made an alliance with the King of Ulster, by which they agreed to join their forces and attack the city of Dublin; the place of refuge for the Danes, to which they retired upon a defeat, 'till they were reinforced from Norway with a fresh supply. In consequence of this treaty, all the necessary preparations for a siege were made; and the allied army, which was numerous and well disciplined, sat down before the walls. Without cannon, bombs, or mortar, or any other implements which modern times have invented for the diabolical destruction of mankind, the siege of a city fortified must depend a great deal more on courage and activity than on skill and perseverance: and accordingly when the allies had been three days entrenched, a general assault was made; and in proportion to the violence of the storm was the slaughter on both sides that ensued. The fury of the Irish at length prevailed; their standard was fixed upon the ramparts, and the Danes yielding the place, the Irish entered it sword in hand. But the violence usual on such occasions was restrained! the conquerors were contented with their victory, and the plunder which it afforded, without putting the wretched inhabitants to the sword. All the Irish Prisoners, among whom was the King of Leinster and his children; and several hostages of the first rank, who had suffered a long and severe confinement, were set at liberty; and the principal Danish officers took their places. In short their affairs by this conquest were reduced to great extremities, and they were obliged to submit to whatever conditions the Monarch of Ireland thought fit to impose. These conditions, no doubt, were thought hard by the Danes, and were accepted probably with a resolution to be broke on their part as soon as it was in their power; for they broke

MALACHY broke them very soon. Their business then was to save their lives and their possession of the city of Dublin, which must be done at all events; and as to any terms of peace which the Irish might insist upon for these grants, they were willing enough to accept them, as intending to trust to time and accident to relieve themselves from them. The conditions imposed by **MALACHY** upon the Danes, were, to quit all their conquests from the Shannon to the Sea eastwards; to refrain from all hostilities and incursions, under the penalty of being cut to pieces without quarter; and to submit to the payment of a large tribute.

But let us see the issue of this peace concluded with the Danes at Dublin. As soon as they had recovered themselves by supplies from abroad of every kind, and had thought themselves upon an equal footing of strength with the Irish, they returned to their former attempts against them, and to regain their settlements in the same manner as they did when no such treaty was in being. This brought on a rencounter between them and the Monarch mentioned above, in which **MALACHY** defeated two of their champions whom he encountered successively hand to hand; taking a collar of gold from the neck of the former, and carrying off the sword of the other, as trophies of his victory. But the Danes had received such reinforcements, and were so incensed at the hard conditions which the Irish had imposed, that they exerted themselves with redoubled fury; and the natives were in danger of being again reduced to a state of slavery. For the Monarch was by this time so given up to a life of pleasure, that the happiness of his country was sacrificed to his love of ease and his diversions: and the provincial Kings, except **BRIAN**, were become so indifferent about the public welfare, that if they were un-

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lest themselves they were content; imagining that the Irish government would last their time, and leaving posterity to take care of itself. MALA.
II.

These however were not the selfish, unworthy, and dastardly sentiments of the King of Munster. He was continually at the head of his brave Momonians, chasing and harassing the enemies of his country from one end of the island to another: and his zeal and success, which humbled their insolence, and made them glad to be quiet in their settlements, acquired him so much esteem and popularity among the natives, that they began to form a design of deposing their inactive and inglorious Monarch, and conferring the sovereignty upon BRIAN, though of the Heberian line, because they owed their lives and liberties to his protection. If the people in general were of this disposition towards the King of Munster, we may be sure that his own subjects, who had great cause to love him, and had his honour much at heart, would do all that was in their power to improve it. They saw a fair opportunity of advancing their Prince to the Monarchy of the kingdom; and they were glad to have it in their power to shew their gratitude for his excellent administration. But as it might seem to be rather an effect of their partiality than of the King's merit, if the people of his own province should stand alone in this design of leading him to the throne, they represented to the nobility and the gentry of Conaught, the distressed miserable state of their country under the government of MALACHY, and how much more miserable it would have been through the ravages of the Danes, if BRIAN BOROMY their King, had not singly with his Momonians repelled their insults: they desired therefore that the chiefs of Conaught would join with them in a resolution to depose the Monarch, and to set the King of Munster on the throne.

This

MALA.

II.

This proposal being agreed to, the chiefs of the two provinces met in council to deliberate on the measures they should pursue. The deposal of a Monarch any otherwise than in battle, or by assassination, and once by banishment, was a thing unknown in Ireland; and it required some consideration to effect it quietly and with success. At last it was determined to send ambassadors to MALACHY to desire him civilly to abdicate the throne, and if he refused, to compel him to it. Ambassadors of the first rank were accordingly sent; who signified to him, in pursuance of this resolution of the council, that as he neglected the protection of his subjects, and looked tamely on their oppression by the Danes, as an unconcerned spectator, he was unworthy of the monarchy; that a King of Ireland, who had the happiness of his country at heart, would never suffer the ravages of these merciless enemies to pass unrevenge, as he did; that BRIAN BOROMY, the renowned King of Munster, had alone undertaken the cause of Irish liberty; and therefore that he alone deserved to wear the crown of Ireland, who knew so well how to defend it, with honour to himself, and with happiness to his people. In short, the ambassadors informed MALACHY; that the chiefs of the two provinces whom they represented, were determined to dethrone him; and in order to prevent disturbances, they wished he would retire quietly to a private life, and give no further trouble.

As much addicted to indolence and pleasure as the Monarch had been for several years past, which in the situation his country was then in, was an unpardonable indulgence, yet he was naturally, as we have seen, of a warlike spirit, till it had been enervated with ease and luxury: and it is not therefore to be wondered at, that he should receive such an embassy with indignation; that he

he should refuse to deliver up a crown at such a **MALACHY**. request; and that he should be determined **II.** to defend his right to the last extremity. The King of Munster had not hitherto appeared to have any hand in dethroning **MALACHY**; and seems to have waited in expectation, that his Momonians would have been able to set the crown of Ireland upon his head. Had this design been effected, it would not only have lessened the envy, and perhaps prevented the opposition, of other competitors for the monarchy, but it would also have abated the odium of **BRIAN**'s usurpation, who was of the Heberian line, and consequently of his breaking through the constitution which had been preserved inviolate for many ages.

But when the King of Munster perceived, at the return of the ambassadors, that nothing was to be hoped for from **MALACHY** without force, he laid aside all reserve; and resolved to make use of the popularity he had acquired among the natives, to depose the Monarch and to seize upon the crown. For this purpose he raised a formidable army, not only of his own province, but in other parts of the southern half of the kingdom, of which he claimed the government; and even took those Danes into his pay whom he had subdued, and who had promised homage and subjection to him. When all these forces were assembled, he put himself at the head of his veteran Dalgais, and marched directly to Tara. But before he began any hostilities, he sent a herald to **MALACHY**, to demand his resignation of the monarchy; to bring hostages of the first quality for the security of his obedience; and, in case of refusal, to declare war against him.

The King of Ireland could not be ignorant of the vast preparations made by **BRIAN**, but whether he did not suspect that they were made against

MALACHY himself, or that he was deceived with false intelligence, he made no attempts to oppose him. The Monarch's answer therefore was, that as his army was separated, he was in no condition at present to give him battle : but if the King of Munster would suspend his hostilities for a month, that **MALACHY** might be enabled to collect his forces, he would accept the challenge ; or if his subjects refused to support him with their assistance, he would send hostages to **BRIAN**, at the expiration of that term, for his resignation of the crown, and for his own obedience to **BRIAN** as the lawful Monarch. In the mean time he requested it as a favour, that the country of Meath might not be plundered, and that the Momonians might continue quiet in their camp at Tara. The King of Munster was too generous an enemy, and too much of a hero, not to accept of these conditions ; and his obedient army, though they longed for action, were restrained without difficulty from raising contributions upon the country.

The Monarch having gained so much time from **BRIAN**, dispatched Messengers to the petty Princes and the nobility of Leath Con, or the northern half of the kingdom, to demand their assistance and advice upon this great occasion : he sent his antiquary particularly to the famous **HUGH ONEILL** a Prince of the north Hy-Nials and chief of the territory of Tyrone of the Heremonian house, to require his proportion of troops to succour him in a battle on which his crown depended ; and in case of refusal, to insist on his sending some hostages which **MALACHY** might deliver up to **BRIAN** as a security for his own obedience ; because these were the conditions he had been obliged to submit to. The same message was sent to the Kings of Ulster, and Conaught : and if they were unwilling to support him against the army of Munster, the messengers

messengers had orders to declare, that his resignation of the crown would be no dishonour to him, but to them who denied him assistance, and whose ancestors had filled the throne of Ireland for many ages. MALA.
II.

Notwithstanding the distress which was signified by this message, the petty Princes of the northern division refused to obey the summons of MALACHY; and the Kings of Ulster and Connaught did little better. O NEILL sent him word, that when the royal palace of Tara was possessed by his great ancestors, they knew how to defend it against all attempts: and if MALACHY was unable to keep possession of it, he had nothing to do but to deliver it up: that he had sat unconcerned and seen the blood of the natives daily spilt; their wives and children starving in the woods, their cities, lands, and harbours in the possession of foreigners; their churches monasteries and chapels laid in ashes; and that whilst he remained thus inactive, the King of Munster, like a patriot Prince, had reduced the common enemy, restored the liberty of the subject, and employed his time and his abilities for the public good. It was therefore no wonder that the affections of the people should be alienated from MALACHY and transferred to BRIAN; and if this was not the case, added O NEILL, he should not oppose the Momonians and especially the tribe of the Dalgais, whose virtues he respected, and whose friendship he desired.

When the messenger returned to the Monarch with this answer, MALACHY was so struck with the consequences that might follow from O NEILL's neutrality to revolt, that he determined, if possible, to get him over. To this purpose he made a visit to O NEILL; and as an argument which he thought would be irresistible, he offered to resign to him his right to Tara and its demesnes, which

MALACHY II. had always been appendant to the crown of Ireland, and to secure his posterity in the possession of it; if O NEILL would assist him with all his power, and oblige BRIAN to desist from his intended purpose. Whether it was in the monarchs power to dismember so valuable an estate and the ancient palace from the crown for any longer time than he held the sovereignty of the island, and whether any succeeding Monarch would have thought himself bound by this agreement may be justly doubted, if not denied.

O NEILL however required time to consider of this proposal, and to take the deliberation of his chiefs upon a matter of such importance to his family and the publick. When he had acquainted them with the motives of MALACHY'S journey, and the advantageous offers which he made for assistance against BRIAN, the chiefs suspecting the integrity of the Monarch, and that if he had it in his power to make good his proposal, that he would not have it in his will, advised O NEILL to return him a civil answer, but to refuse intermeddling in his quarrel with BRIAN which might prove of pernicious consequence. But however upon second thoughts, they imagined they might be able to draw some advantages to themselves from this distress of the Monarch; and therefore they proposed, that if he would deliver up one half of the country of Meath to them and their posterity, as well as the lands of Tara to O NEILL and his heirs, in consideration of the dangers they must expose themselves to, in engaging in his defence against the Momonian army, they would immediately array themselves in order of battle.

These conditions were accordingly offered by O NEILL to the King of Ireland; who thinking them too exorbitant and severe, rejected them with indignation, and returned home to his court. However

ever being irresolute and not knowing what to do, he summoned the nobility of the tribe of Colman, who were under his immediate jurisdiction as King of Meath, and informing them of the present state of his affairs, and of the insolent demands of O'NEILL and his chiefs, requested their advice as to the part he ought to take, and that they would not forsake him in his extremity. The reader need not be told, that there is a wide difference between loyalty and affection; between living quietly and not rebelling against a Prince, and arming and fighting in his defence. Thus though the tribe of Colman retained their loyalty to MALACHY as their lawful sovereign, yet they had lost all affection for him: though they would not join with BRIAN who was a pretender to the crown, yet they would not fight for MALACHY who had permitted the enemies of their country to oppress and enslave them without disturbance. In this disposition of mind, which was a very natural one, their advice to the Monarch was, that since he could not be enabled to decide the dispute by force of arms, he should immediately repair to the camp at Tara, make his submission to the King of Munster, and get the best terms he could for the rest of his life.

Mortifying as this advice must needs be to a Monarch, yet MALACHY found himself under a necessity of complying with it; and taking with him a guard of twelve hundred horse, he went to the camp of BRIAN, where he was received with all the honour due to his rank. Here he related with indignation the treatment which he had met with from HUGH O'NEILL and his chiefs: and though, being thus abandoned by his allies, he was obliged to resign his crown and dignity, yet he honestly owned to the King of Munster, that it was absolute necessity and not any want of courage

MALA. or resolution, that had drawn him to this submission. It is said by **KEATING**, that **BRIAN** being touched with his misfortunes and with this ingenuous declaration, gave him another year to try his friends, and returned with his army to Munster. But this, which has not the air of probability, is contradicted, says **MAC CURTIN**, by the chief antiquary of Ireland who wrote the life of **BRIAN**; and who tells us, that he was then proclaimed and crowned at Tara, by the unanimous voice of all the Princes and clergy of the southern division of Ireland, and with the consent of **MALACHY**. After this he assigned the deposed Monarch his old inheritance as King of Meath; made him a present of two hundred and forty horses, besides gold and silver to his retinue, and the next year he went to Athlone and received hostages and submission from the Kings and Princes of Conaught and Ulster; who if they were not pleased with the expulsion of **MALACHY**, and the interruption of the succession, yet acquiesced in them chearfully without complaining.

In this manner was **MALACHY** the second deposed from the throne of Ireland, after a quiet possession of three and twenty years, without any bloodshed, or even the least commotion. Such revolutions are seen sometimes in other countries; they have been seen in this in which I write: but in Ireland, where the Monarchy was elective, where the contests for the crown were extremely violent, and where shedding each other's blood was almost as natural to them as the air they breathed, such a revolution was new and almost miraculous. Had **MALACHY** continued the same active zeal in the service of his country, which distinguished the former part of his reign, he would never have been deposed: and had **BRIAN BOROMY** led an indolent inglorious life of pleasure, when the common enemy was depopulating and laying waste his country,

country, he would not have been pushed up into the monarchy. This is a lesson to Kings, that their security does not always depend on title and possession; and that their own happiness is most promoted by the happiness of their people. It is a lesson also to Princes who may be allied to crowns, that wasting their youth in ease and luxury and dissipation, when their country is involved in war, is mean and dishonourable: and on the other hand, that a martial spirit, heroic valour, and activity in the service of their country, will sometimes lead them to a throne without a legal title. BRIAN,

The renowned BRIAN BOROMY having acquired the submission of all the Princes in the island, and being universally acknowledged by all ranks of men as King of Ireland, a new scene of history will now present itself; which I shall reserve to be the subject of the following book. I wish it was in my power to conclude this, with any tolerable account of the affairs of Religion and the Church in Ireland, during the tenth century; but no such accounts have been preserved. The only information of this sort that I am able to give the reader—and I give it not from any thing that has been published, but from authentic manuscripts communicated by a friend—is, that the Hy-Niall Princes gave abundant testimonies of their pious zeal, by their princely endowments of monastic Colleges, the repositories of all the learning then in the world. Their zeal might in many cases be tinged with superstition, yet still it was a pious zeal, as it flowed from a good principle, and had no impure mixture of persecution. Their moderation was visible in the foolish schism about the Catholic Easter and the Tonsure, which was agitated with so much violence in England and other countries: and though these Irish Monarchs rejected for some time the synodal decrees of

Rome in their own case, yet those who had a mind to receive them were left at liberty. Thus those decrees were received in the province of Munster, without the smallest interposition of the royal authority: and to say the truth, such a conduct of charitableness and moderation, when it does not proceed from indifference in religion, deserves much more the appellation of piety, than the zeal of Princes in later times, who gave no higher testimonies of their piety, than by inflicting bodily tortures for the punishment of supposed spiritual crimes. Such was the piety, among others, of our ELIZABETH; who is so unjustly celebrated above what she deserves.

From this state of things it may be concluded, I think, not untruly, that in those old times which we call barbarous, the Irish Princes had more good sense and knowledge in cases the most important to mankind, than more modern Monarchs in nations of greater light. But be this as it might: if we frame our idea of the Hy-Niall Princes from what we see of Monarchs in our own time, we shall be deceived extremely. A modern King has very little to do: he delegates his power, and often his whole authority, to others: screened from public inspection, his person, if not his conduct, is secured from the contempt, to which personal weakness and personal vices are exposed. But a Monarch of Ireland had almost every thing to do: attended with little pomp to dazzle the vulgar and throw him at a great distance, assisted and covered with no ministers, he owed almost all his power and authority to his own virtues and abilities. These indeed were chiefly of the popular kind; and it must be owned that what recommended and set off the hero, did but too often disgrace the man. Upon the whole perhaps, it is better for
man-

mankind, that the servility, the adulation, and the refined treachery of modern courts should prevail, than the fierce sincerity, the forward independancy, and open license of former times.

The catalogue of the eminent writers of Ireland, in the ninth and tenth centuries is a very short one; and it would be shorter still if we were to confine it to those who lived there. The continual wars with the Danes through so many years, rendered Ireland unfavourable to learning, and learned men; and amongst many others who were driven abroad, to seek that repose which is so necessary for study, and which was not to be enjoyed in their native country, ALBIN and CLEMENT went to France; where their learning and abilities procured them the favour of CHARLES the Great. Some of ALBIN's Epistles, WARE says, are extant, and certain rhetorical rules. CLEMENT his colleague wrote some grammatical pieces; and among his works are reckoned a Summary, and a book on the agreement of the Evangelists. The French, says LUPOLDUS BEBENBURGIUS, may compare with the Romans and Athenians by means of CLEMENT an Irishman. The reader will see from this account, that if England owed its best instructions in Christianity and its purest zeal, to the Irish, as it hath been shewn above, the Irish may also claim the honour of introducing learning into France.

CLAUDE, another pious and learned Irishman, who lived in the beginning of the ninth century, and whom the wars had driven abroad, wrote a commentary on S. MATTHEW, on the Epistles of S. PAUL, on the Pentateuch, the books of JOSHUA, Judges, and the Psalms; besides historical Memoirs, Homilies, a Summary, a book on the agreement of the Evangelists. JOHN ERIGENA, a native of Ireland, a man of a searching wit, and great

great eloquence, says WARE, applied himself to letters in his own country from his infancy, and in his youthful days travelled into France, and was for some time at the court of CHARLES the Bald. About the end of the ninth century, he came into England at the request of King ALFRED; who employed him some years in the restoration of learning in the University at Oxford. He then retired to Malmesbury Abbey, where he died of some wounds he had received from his scholars, and was by some esteemed a martyr. This account, however, though copied from the English writers, is much contested by HARRIS, who thinks that they have blended what relates to three distinct persons of the name of JOHN in that century, and applied it all to ERIGENA. Be this as it might; he translated and wrote several books in different languages, such as Greek and Latin, Arabick and Chaldee; and HONORIUS calls him “another CHRYSOSTOM, a famous scripturist, who wrote in a very elegant stile of the nature of all things.”

The famous CORMAC MAC CUILLENAN, who wrote the Psalter of Cashall, has been already mentioned as King of Munster, and a celebrated poet: and besides him, there is no other writer recorded in the tenth century,—which, from the scarcity of writers, is called, “the dark and unhappy age”—but PROBUS, of the Irish nation. He wrote the life of S. PATRICK, in two books, which may be found in BEDE’S works, to whom they are falsely ascribed. Whether this was PROBUS the Grammarian, whom some make the author of an ancient commentary on JUVENAL, seems undetermined. When one considers the continual wars in this last century with the Danes, it is not to be wondered at, that literature should be almost extinguished,

tinguished, and that so few men of learning should be found in Ireland in that period. It is impossible for arts or sciences to flourish, or even almost to exist, in a country where the inhabitants are either called away to the field to defend their liberties and lives, or when they are under constant alarms from an enemy lest their property be lost at home.

The time however was now approaching, when the invasions of the Danes, the battles of the Irish with them, and the power which they had acquired in Ireland, with some short interruptions, through a course of two hundred years, were all to be at an end.

Such was the surprising turn of affairs brought about by providence in the Irish nation, by the quiet deposal of MALACHY from the throne, and the advancement of BRIAN, contrary to the constitution, without bloodshed. When the hopes of the Irish, and the fears of the Danes seemed to be almost at an end, the great disposer of all things on a sudden changed the scene; and the interest of that people in Ireland was quite determined: an interest which had cost rivers of blood, and a great deal of time and violence to plant and cultivate. Next to the pleasure and good providence of God, it seems principally to have been owing to the daring and active spirit of BRIAN BOROMY, and which descended to his posterity. But whatever occasioned this turn in the affairs of Ireland, it must be owned to have been astonishing, that an interest so antient, and so well established, was so soon and completely broken and finally disappeared.

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

BOOK X.

BRIAN.
A. D.
1002.
KEA-
TING.
OFLA-
HER.
WARE.
MAC.
CUR.
Disserta.
LYNCH.

THE quiet resignation of the throne by MALACHY, together with the great number of Chiefs and Princes who deserted him, made so general an impression throughout the nation, that without taking time to consider that the advancement of BRIAN BOROMY was against the right of succession in the Heremonian line, they presently entered into his measures, and almost unanimously acquiesced in placing him on the throne. It must be owned however that there were some petty Princes, who either having claims of their own upon the crown, or out of friendship and alliance with the deposed Monarch or out of ill-will to the new one, opposed themselves to the general voice ; and though they did not pretend to make war upon BRIAN, yet they refused to acknowledge him for their lawful sovereign. But he gave them no time to form themselves into confederacies and acquire strength against him. He sent his son MORTOGH with some of the provincial troops

troops of Munster and Leinster, particularly with **BRIAN**. the martial tribe of O Neills, against some of these malecontents ; and they carried away spoils to a great value with three hundred prisoners. He himself marched at the head of a great body of forces against others, whom he soon reduced to obedience. The principal nobility of the province of Ulster met him with their hostages, as a security for their allegiance, as did also those of the country of Tirconnel. In his progress he went to Ardmagh, and laid twenty ounces of gold upon the altar by way of oblation to Heaven for his advancement to the monarchy. Whilst **BRIAN** and his son were employed thus in establishing the tranquillity of the island, the Danes were not idle in endeavouring to disturb it. The coasts of Ulster were plundered with great cruelty, and many spoils and prisoners were carried off. Another party landed upon the coasts of Munster, plundered Cork, and set it on fire ; and a third, in conjunction with some of the inhabitants of Leinster, entered Meath and committed many dreadful ravages. But these incursions were very amply revenged, and the last especially by **MORTOGH** the Monarch's son. The Danish Prince and his son were taken by stratagem, and put to death : **MORTOGH** harrassed the Danes and their allies in Leinster, with his victorious army, to the walls of Dublin ; making them pay very severely for their pillage in the country of Meath.

The new Monarch having fixed himself in the quiet possession of the throne, and suppressed all his foreign and domestic enemies, he was resolved to approve himself as great in council as he had been in arms, and as fit to direct affairs in the cabinet of state, as to lead an army on the day of battle. He had given many proofs of his being a General invincible in the field, of consummate
experience

BRIAN. experience in the art of war, of munificence to his friends, and of clemency to his enemies. But these were not all the qualifications he was possessed of, nor these all the virtues which filled the heart of **BRIAN**. His heroic victories and accomplishments, in an age of heroism, and among a people who carried it higher than almost any other nation round the globe, could not fail to attract the affections of his subjects in a great degree : but there was still something wanting to complete his own glory and the happiness of his people ; and this the Monarch undertook with equal alacrity and success. Military skill and courage are ornamental in Princes as well as useful to their people : but in such times as those, and in such a country as Ireland, they were absolutely necessary. However when this people were entirely at union among themselves, and free from all incursions or even the fear of any enemies, this skill and courage was no longer necessary, was no longer useful ; and other qualifications must be possessed, other virtues besides munificence and clemency must be exerted by a sovereign, to make him amiable in himself and beloved by all his subjects. Let us see what the Monarch did in order to this end.

Though **BRIAN** had triumphed over all his enemies foreign and domestic, and a general tranquillity unknown to most of his predecessors prevailed universally over the island, yet he had sense enough to know, that it would be in vain for him to attempt the reformation of those disorders which the wars had introduced into his dominions, unless he could secure the kingdom from fresh commotions : and he had knowledge enough of his countrymen to be convinced, that nothing could so effectually contribute to prevent these, as keeping the petty Princes and the Chiefs in temper.

Wherefore

Wherefore the first thing he did was to confirm BRIAN. them all in their ancient privileges, and to bestow presents or honours of different kinds upon them all according to their degree. The one shewed his inviolable regard to justice and liberty; and the other was a proof of his generous and princely soul: and whenever that proof is wanting, a Monarch may be just, may be merciful, may enact good laws, and consult the welfare of his people, but he will not be beloved, he will be despised and censured. No character in men of wealth produces more contempt and disesteem than that of covetousness; but in Princes, in whom private frugality is not a virtue, it will be always held detestable.

When BRIAN had thus secured the loyalty of his nobles and great men—in the only way that it can be secured—by winning their hearts, his next care was to provide for the interests of religion, which had suffered so greatly in the Danish war. To this end he summoned the clergy of every order; and making a strict enquiry into the pretensions of every one who had been ejected, he restored them all to their several claims; every Bishop to his diocese, every abbot to his monastery, and every priest to his church. The temporalities also, which had been sequestered by the Danes to other purposes, were recovered again to the right owners, and established on their old foundations. It must be observed to the honour of this Monarch's understanding, as well as of his goodness of heart, that this extraordinary care of religion and its ministers, was a step as political as it was pious: and it is a lesson to Kings and rulers of modern times, that in order to be secure and quite at ease in the state, they should take care to provide an interest in the church.

The

BRIAN. The fair face of religion, which had been
— long obscured, being once more restored, **BRIAN** made it his business to secure and improve it as much as possible. He added to the re-edifying of the monasteries that had been destroyed, and the repairs of several churches, the founding of the cathedral of Killaloe : and he recalled the exiled members of the collegiate societies, and restored them to their employments and revenues.

But besides the motives of piety and of his own genius, **BRIAN**, who knew the use and ornament of knowledge in religion, left the learning of the clergy at that time should die with them, and not descend to their posterity, resolved to encourage the interest, and revive the study of learning. To this end he repaired the academical colleges that had been destroyed by the Danes, and erected new ones where they were wanted in several parts of the island. In these seminaries were taught the liberal sciences, and all the branches of philosophy and polite literature, as well as theology. With a munificence becoming a Monarch, and as a patron of learning—which all Monarchs should be, to add to their usefulness and importance—he built public libraries for poor students, and supported youths of genius in their studies, who had not the means to support themselves. He spared no cost or labour by favour or rewards to provide the most eminent professors for these academies that could be procured : and having thus revived the decayed state of learning, many men of great abilities in all professions, were trained up, to the great advantage of Church and State. But because this noble design must have lost a great part of its usefulness, if provision had not been made for the elements and first foundations of learning, therefore **BRIAN** repaired and added to the public schools ; and encouraged

couraged all the people of ability to send their children to them. I saw in the College library a manuscript history of Ireland by GEOGHAGAN, translated from an old book, which is said by the author, to be compiled from COLUMCILL, O MORE, and others, that were professed Irish Chroniclers. In that work it is related, that "BRIAN observing into what ignorance the kingdom was fallen, by the devastations and outrages of the Danes, having assembled all the nobility, bishops, and great men at Cashell, he caused all their history from the time in which it had been left off, to be recorded in the Psalter there, which they all signed; copies of which were sent into every province for the use of each provincial King, and no credit was to be given to any other relations of public affairs than what were contained in those chronicles." Though BRIAN did not live to execute all the great designs he had formed to promote learning and religion, yet he lived to do a great deal; and more, it may be said truly, than any other Monarch that had gone before him, or followed after him.

The great actions of BRIAN, which have been already mentioned, are evident demonstrations of his piety, wisdom, and benevolence, as a legislator: we are next to see his regard to justice and humanity, his love of his country, and a constant attention to the public good. As the Danes were a mercantile people, and imported many commodities for use and pleasure, which made their commerce a benefit to the nation, the Monarch permitted those who were settled in the Sea-ports, in Dublin, Wexford, Limerick, Waterford, and Cork, to remain there for the sake of trade; taking security for their allegiance, and a large annual tribute for his protection. But all the rest of the foreigners were expelled out of the

BRIAN. island; and the territories which they were possessed of, and which he recovered from them, he returned to the original proprietors who were living, or to those of their posterity who could make out their claim: the other lands, for which no owners were to be found, he did not reserve for sycophants and favourites—the needy and rapacious locusts of a court—nor to enrich his own relations; but he distributed them amongst a people useful to a state, the industrious and skillful husbandmen, in order to encrease and encourage agriculture. The great mind of **BRIAN** was not to be corrupted and enslaved by flattery: he was his own minister; and he dispensed justice to the meanest subject in his dominions with an impartial hand. In order to prevent confusion, and to preserve the genealogies with more regularity, he appointed surnames of distinction to all the several branches of the Milesian race, and to the other principal families in the kingdom; which was a thing unknown in Ireland, till that time: and, according to the observation of several writers, it was not till this time that surnames began to be ascertained in France, England, and Scotland; first among people of distinction, and afterwards by degrees, among the inferior sort.

That he might encourage inland traffick and correspondence, and consequently promote acquaintance and harmony among his people, as well as their ease and pleasure, **BRIAN** built bridges over several deep rivers, and made fords in others that before were not passable; he mended the high roads that were capable of being mended, and laid causeways along others whose soil was too deep and miry. Having observed the great utility of garrisons to the Danes, he made use of all their raths or forts to the same purpose, and erected other fortifications

eations in all the parts of the kingdom where **BRIAN**: they were wanted. Through a partiality, which I think not discommendable, for his own province of Munster, of which all his ancestors had had the government from the earliest ages of the pentarchy, and where he then kept his court; he fortified no less than thirteen royal palaces in that province; in order to secure it from foreign or domestic enemies. All the corruptions which had crept into the established laws of the kingdom were expunged; and new laws were added to those already in force. In short the people were inspired with such a spirit of honour, virtue, and religion by the great example of **BRIAN**, and by his excellent administration, that, as a proof of it, we are informed, that a young lady of great beauty, adorned with jewels and a costly dress, undertook a journey alone from one end of the kingdom to the other, with a wand only in her hand at the top of which was a ring of exceeding great value: and such an impression had the laws and government of this Monarch made on the minds of all the people, that no attempt was made upon her honour, nor was she robbed of her clothes or jewels. Such sudden mighty changes, do the spirit of a great, and the genius of a wise Prince produce!

In order still further to preserve the public tranquillity, **BRIAN** appointed a governor over every cantred of land and every city throughout the island; and to prevent any disputes among the petty Princes and Chiefs, he set forth injunctions to regulate their precedency in all public places. Because however trifling this affair may seem, and is really so in fact, yet it hath occasioned disputes which have had very serious and important consequences. Besides, made as men are made, scarce any thing of a public nature is too trifling

BRIAN. for the attention of a wise and good legislator. The Danes in Ireland, it hath been observed, had been for some time converted to the Christian faith ; but this conversion, it may be presumed, was not general. For at this time an ordinance was proclaimed by **BRIAN**, that no Danè should continue to live in any part of Ireland who had not embraced the Catholic and Apostolic faith : and that they might not relapse into the idolatry and superstition of their former state, they were all of them to hold their favours of the Monarch, upon no other terms, notwithstanding their tribute, than doing their duty to God, and adhering to the religion of **CHRIST**. This condition was so well observed by these foreigners, that they not only all professed to believe in him and were baptized, but many of them became so exemplary and so learned, as to be consecrated Bishops of the cities which they inhabited, by their countrymen the Norman Archbishops of Canterbury ; as we shall see in its proper place.

Having given the reader this view of the public acts of **BRIAN**, which shew the greatness of his understanding and the goodness of his heart, some account must now be related of the magnificence and splendor with which he supported his royal dignity ; in order to convince him that **BRIAN** acted the Monarch in every circumstance of his reign. The place of his residence was at the palace of Kincora, the same as when he was only King of Munster ; but here his court, his retinue, and the sumptuous hospitality of his table, were in all respects becoming the majesty of a King of Ireland. These may be guessed at in some degree from the astonishing quantity of provisions which was annually sent in by the other three provinces, besides

besides his constant revenue from his own province of Munster. The former is computed at two thousand six hundred and seventy oxen, one thousand three hundred and seventy hogs, one hundred and eighty tons of iron, three hundred and twenty five hogheads of claret from the Danes of Limerick, one hundred and fifty pipes of other wine of various sorts from the Danes of Dublin, and five hundred mantles from the country of Tirconnell. These annual tributes, which together with twelve hundred oxen and a thousand mantles from the province of Munster when the King of that province was not Monarch, were established by ancient laws for the use and service of the crown; and each country had its known proportion, which it is not necessary to recite.

The book of Rights of Munster, first begun by BINEN—and which, Dr. RAYMOND says, is the oldest book of history extant next the Greek and Roman—gives a particular account of the chief rent or tribute due to its Kings from their own province; as well as from some other particular territories in the rest, by ancient custom for former services. I do not think it material enough to trouble the reader with this recital, and shall inform him only that in the gross, it amounted to fourteen hundred and fifty oxen, three thousand six hundred and fifty cows, four thousand eight hundred hogs, two thousand six hundred wethers, one hundred horses, eleven hundred and fifty mantles, a fleet well manned, a body of armed men to attend the King from Ossory, another body of armed men in honour of St. PATRICK and against the Danes from Conaught, the Boro-mean tribute from Leinster, and an host of armed men from the Danes of Dublin against Leinster in case of their disobedience; and these rights and privileges—except those relating to the Danes—

BRIAN. are said to have been paid from the time of **ANGUS**, when **St. PATRICK** first arrived in Ireland, to the dissolution of their Monarchy. These great revenues, which were sent every year to the palace of Kincora from his own and the other provinces, will give the reader some idea of the pomp and grandeur of the court of **BRIAN**; where none were permitted to wear their swords, but the renowned tribe of the Dalgais, who were his body guards.

When **BRIAN** had established peace, and given a happiness to his kingdom, which it had scarce ever known before; and when by his public munificence, and other virtues and accomplishments, he had recovered the ancient character of the Irish, which had been long upon the decline, he determined to build a fleet of ships; not only to prevent any more invasions from the Danes, but to make his power formidable at sea. Notwithstanding this is the natural and proper strength of an island, yet this was never attended to in that country so much as it ought to have been, especially after it had been harrassed so often by these invasions; and the same is true of England, in the ages of which I am speaking. But nothing that was necessary to the peace and prosperity of his people escaped the vast mind of **BRIAN**; and a considerable navy was set on foot for the use and ornament of his dominions. Amidst other preparations for this purpose, he sent to the King of Leinster, whose sister he had married, to desire that he would furnish him with three of the largest and longest masts which his territories would produce. This request being agreeable to the provincial King, he ordered all his woods to be surveyed, and the three finest trees to be cut down and hewed for the Monarch's service;

service ; intending to accompany them to the **BRIAN.**
Court of **BRIAN.**

But a violent contest arising in the way, between the three tribes, which were appointed to carry the masts, about the point of precedence ; and the dispute reaching the ears of the King of Leinster, he immediately rode up to them, and not only determined which of the tribes should have the honour of first approaching the presence of the Monarch, but in the heat of his zeal and partiality he also dismounted ; and putting his shoulders under the mast which belonged to his favourite tribe, he took his share of the burden as a common bearer. He had upon him at that time a rich silk mantle, embroidered with gold and silver, and fringed with lace of great value, which had but a short time before been presented to him by the King of Ireland : and in the struggle that he made to distinguish himself upon this occasion, the golden button which fastened it at the neck flew off, and was lost. As minute a circumstance as this may seem, yet the reader will be convinced, that it was absolutely necessary to be related, when he finds that it was productive of one of the greatest events in the whole Irish history.

When the masts were brought to Kincora, and the usual ceremonies were past between the Monarch and the provincial King, the latter was welcomed very affectionately by his sister the Queen of Ireland. In a short time after, being desirous to repair the disorder of his mantle, and wishing his sister would fix another golden button in the room of that he had lost, that he might not appear to the Monarch to have ill used or slighted the present which he had made him ; the King of Leinster informed her of the dispute, and of his readiness to shew his loyalty and affection to the

BRIAN. King her husband, by assisting to carry one of the masts himself, which had occasioned the loss of the button. The Queen his sister being a woman of a true Irish spirit, and being fired with a reflexion on the glory of her ancestors, who had never paid homage to any Prince in the world, was so incensed at this servile disposition of her brother, to submit under a burden like a common labourer, that she upbraided him with his meanness of spirit so unworthy of his illustrious house, in the severest terms she could recollect; and snatching his mantle from his shoulders with the utmost indignation, she threw it into the fire.

The King of Leinster appeared like a man thunder-struck at this violent rebuke from the Queen his sister, to honour whose husband he had undergone this disgrace; and perhaps too, he was made ashamed of himself by her remonstrance for this degeneracy from the spirit of his ancestors. Moved however as he was with her, and though no body was witness of this treatment, yet he suppressed his passion at that time, and made no reply. But the next day, as he was looking upon a game at chess, which was playing between **MORTOGH**, the eldest son of **BRIAN**, and one of his cousins; the King of Leinster, unfairly as a stander by, advised a move, which lost **MORTOGH** the game. The Prince of Ireland, being extremely nettled at this impertinent interposition—as every chess player will believe—among other things in his passion, told the King of Leinster, that if he had given as good advice to the Danes, they would not have lost the battle of Glen-madma, where their defeat was owing to him. The King replied with equal quickness and resentment, that if the Danes had been defeated by his advice, he would soon put them in a way to retrieve their loss,
and

and to take their full revenge of him and the King BRIAN. his father. The spirit of MORTOGH, which before was chafed, was upon this threatening, under no restraint : and he answered the King of Leinster, that the foreign forces had been so often vanquished by his father and himself, that he feared nothing from them, though they should be stirred up, and commanded by the King of Leinster himself.

In those days of fighting, and among those high spirited and warlike men the Princes of Ireland, this was a sort of challenge, which could not easily be digested. MALMORDA, the King of Leinster, said no more, but retired immediately to his chamber ; where reflecting upon the indignities he had received at the court of BRIAN, from his Queen and Son, he was so much hurt and disturbed, that he refused to appear at supper : and lest the Prince of Ireland should take an alarm at this refusal, and seize upon his person, in order to prevent his revenge, he rose very early the next morning, and without the least ceremony whatever, departed from Kincora, fully determined to gratify his resentment, at all events as soon as possible. The Monarch being informed of his sudden and abrupt departure, without giving any notice of his intention, was much surprized : and finding upon enquiry, that he had not been used with proper courtesy and decorum at his court, he was resolved, if possible, to induce him to return ; and to this purpose, he dispatched an officer after him, with the utmost expedition, to desire he would return to the palace, and accept the presents which the King of Ireland had provided as an acknowledgment of his last favour.

But

BRIAN. But whether the King of Leinster suspected **BRIAN'S** sincerity, or whether he was too much incensed with the rude treatment he had before received to forgive it, which is most probable, as soon as the officer of the court had delivered his message, **MALMORDA** was so much enraged, that he struck him violently thrice upon the head, and fractured his skull. When he returned to Kincora, with an account of his reception from the King of Leinster, some of the household troops—perhaps instigated by **MORTOGH**—looking upon this rude and contemptuous insult upon the King's messenger as an insult offered to the King himself, desired **BRIAN'S** permission to pursue **MALMORDA**, and to bring him back to answer for this indignity. But **BRIAN** considering that his Queen and his Son had been the first aggressors, and that the laws of hospitality in his palace had been infringed, in their inelegant treatment of **MALMORDA**, refused this request : and yet as the King of Leinster had in his turn violated the privileges of heralds or officers of a court, in assaulting the messenger who was sent on a civil errand, the Monarch assured them that he would chastise the insolence of **MALMORDA** at his own doors ; and by this means he permitted him to make his escape with safety into his province.

No sooner was the King of Leinster arrived at his own palace, than he summoned a convention of the Princes and the Chiefs under his jurisdiction ; to whom he related in the most aggravating manner the indignity which he had been treated with at the court of **BRIAN**. The states of Leinster being irritated with this artful representation of the uncivil treatment of their King, fell precipitately into his snare, and with the inconsiderable heat which possesses a multitude, they unanimously resolved to join the power of the Danes when they were

were collected, and to fall upon the King of BRIAN. Ireland. A most absurd resolution, and to them a very fatal one! we must remember however that to Princes haughty and independent as were the Irish, "who were quick in discerning an injury and impatient to revenge it, who esteemed it infamous to submit to an enemy and cowardly to forgive him, who considered the right of punishing those who had injured them as a privilege of their order and a mark of independence", all other resentment appeared extremely unsatisfactory.

But I believe there is not in any history in the world, a stronger proof than this, "how great a matter a little fire kindleth"! The Queen of Ireland had given her brother a passionate reproof for his extreme servility; and the Prince had behaved with an indecent warmth to him for his officious interposition in a game at chess: but were these affronts, when joined together, of importance enough to engage the kingdom in a quarrel, to destroy the happy peaceful days it was in possession of, to call in a foreign enemy which had cost it rivers of blood to exterminate and subdue, and to bring the grey heirs of the best Monarch that ever sat on the throne of Ireland with sorrow to the grave? A Monarch too, who had no hand in putting these affronts upon MALMORDA, and who had condescended to desire that he might make up the breach which these affronts had occasioned. But the same littleness of mind, which induced the King of Leinster to sink so much beneath his dignity, as to act the part of a common labourer, to which he was not called by any necessity—for then it would have been great indeed—prevented his reconciliation. For whatever may be the sentiments of the men of the world upon this head, yet nothing is more demonstrable, than that a forgiveness of injuries upon submission, is the

BRIAN. the strongest mark that can be shewed of true
—— greatness of mind. But this was a disposition unknown to the times, as well as to the heart of the King of Leinster.

No sooner had the states of his province joined in the resolution above-mentioned, than **MALMORDA** dispatched messengers to the King of Denmark, imploring his aid against the Monarch ; whom he represented as a tyrant cruel and insupportable, and who had particularly oppressed the Danes, and obliged them to abandon all their possessions, except in the sea-port towns, and the lands adjacent. The King of Denmark gave himself no trouble to enquire into the truth of this complaint, or to offer his mediation to make up the breach : but accepting the proposal of **MALMORDA** with great eagerness, he fitted out a fleet with twelve thousand men, and put his two sons at the head of them, who landed safe in the port of Dublin. As soon as the King of Leinster had received such a powerful succour, and had assurance of being joined by the Danes that were before in the country, he sent a herald to declare war against the King of Ireland, and to challenge him to a battle in the fields about Clontarf, within two miles of Dublin. The Monarch did not want for intelligence of the great preparations that were making against him by the King of Leinster : and there was not a man then in the kingdom, who loved his country and wished its welfare and prosperity, who was not alarmed and troubled at this arrival of the Danish army ; as the war might be attended with very fatal consequences to its peace and liberty. They had the utmost confidence in their Monarch, who had always triumphed over his enemies, but he was now in extreme old age ; and though **MORTOGH** and his other sons were very
valiant

valiant and warlike Princes, yet the present tranquillity and happiness of the nation was a thing certain, but the event of war against a powerful and numerous enemy was precarious; and even if it should be successful would cost a great deal of the best Irish blood. BRIAN.

The declaration of war was returned by BRIAN against the King of Leinster; nor were any preparations neglected that could be made, in order to repel this formidable combination against the public peace. All the provincial troops of Munster and Conaught were called out, with their several Princes at their head; and many chiefs of clans, who were not liable to such service, voluntarily joined with all their people, out of gratitude to their good old Monarch, and to prevent the slavery of their country. Even the deposed MALACHY made a shew of assisting the Irish army, as an auxiliary, with all the forces of Meath, of which he was still King: and when these several bodies were collected together, though their number is not ascertained, yet from many circumstances it may be concluded, they made up an army not inferior to that of the enemy. Though BRIAN was then in the eighty eighth year of his age, and could not possibly retain vigour enough to be of any use, yet when a battle was to be fought which concerned his country, and upon the success of which the liberty of Ireland might depend, he had still so much of the spirit of the warrior and the patriot in him, that there was no persuading him to stay behind. Though his great age had unstrung or palsied every nerve, yet the din of arms, to which he had been trained up from his infancy, and in which he had shone with supreme lustre, had warmed the almost frozen blood in his veins; and he would march at the head of his confederate army,

though

BRIAN. though he was so extremely feeble, that he was obliged to give the command of it to **MORTOGH** his eldest son.

It might be said here with truth indeed, that the spirit was willing but the flesh was weak : and when they arrived in the plains about Clontarf, where the army of Leinster and the Danes were in battle array, and **BRIAN** had seen and assisted in drawing up the order in which his troops were formed, he was persuaded by his son to retire into his tent, and wait the issue of the battle there. The state of the heart of such a hero in that conjuncture, is easier to be conceived than well expressed. But for a man of invincible courage, and of marvellous success in war, to be obliged to stagger out of the field under the burden of old age, and to desert his sons and grandsons whom he had so often led in arms, when they were just about to expose their lives for the liberty of his country, of which he had been the restorer, it must be a very affecting situation. No sooner however had the good old **BRIAN** withdrawn, than the fatal signal was given on both sides to begin the charge. This was the crisis which **MALACHY** chose to revenge himself on the Monarch for pushing him off the throne ; which though he had quietly acquiesced in for a dozen years, yet it is plain he had not forgiven. He had collected the forces of Meath on the declaration of war against the Monarch, and he had incorporated them with the Irish army when they began their march ; but just as the sound of the trumpets and the shouts of both armies gave the signal of battle, he wheeled off with his battalions to a distance ; hoping by that means to strike a terror into the forces of **BRIAN**, and through the confusion that would ensue to give the victory to his enemies.

But

But the army of Ireland, with the sons of their **BRIAN**. invincible and beloved Monarch at their head, were not to be thus dismayed; and they looked upon this defection of the King of Meath with contempt instead of terror. They were led on by **MORTOCH**, and the other Princes, with a courage and firmness worthy of their descent; and they met an enemy, it must be owned, which put all their skill and valour to the test. Notwithstanding the onset was made on both sides with a terrible fierceness, yet the ranks were not broken. Every man stood immovable in his rank, till he fell by the hand of an enemy, and his post was filled immediately by those behind him: in this equal conflict the fight continued for some time; and victory seemed to hover as it were in suspense over both armies. But at length the good genius of **BRIAN**, and the cause of virtuous liberty prevailed: the Danes were pushed so vigorously by the **Momonians** and their Princes, that they were no longer able to stand the shock; and being put into disorder, and not daring to rally, were soon totally routed. The army of Leinster, perceiving their auxiliaries, upon whom they chiefly depended, thus overthrown and put to flight, were discomfited to such a degree, that the defeat became universal and a most dreadful carnage ensued. They had done all that courage and dexterity, a thirst of glory or revenge, could inspire men with; and though it was their fate to lose the field, yet the conquerors won it at a dear rate.

Indeed the best blood they paid for it was not in open battle, but by treachery; for **MORTOCH**, riding through the dead and wounded after the enemy, was called to by one of the sons of the King of Denmark, who knew him, and who implored his help; telling him his wounds were not mortal. The magnanimous Prince, whose mercy

was

BRIAN. was not inferior to his courage, immediately dismounted; and as he was lifting the Dane up, in order to give him succour, the perfidious monster stabbed him to the heart. Thus fell the valliant and victorious **MORTOGH**, the eldest son of **BRIAN**; who fleshed his sword against the Danes in open battle at thirteen years of age, and had fought by his father's side in every battle after, with equal glory and success. As though born always to share the same fate in war, about the same moment that he met with this ignoble death, the aged Monarch, father of his line, was slaughtered in his pavilion, by some of the flying Danes; who, seeing it unguarded, stopped long enough to butcher the helpless, hoary King, and too long to preserve themselves; being all of them cut to pieces.

In this deplorable manner, ended the glorious many days of **BRIAN BOROMY**, King of Munster, and Monarch of Ireland. As great a figure as the reader hath seen him make in the foregoing pages—and a greater perhaps is not to be met with in any history of mankind—yet his character will deserve a little more illustration than what we have found of it already. Though in his youth he delighted much in the exercises of the field, and in the feats of military skill and valour, yet they did not extinguish his love of learning, and the polite arts; of which he continued all through his life to be very fond. As he grew in years, this inclination to literature encreased; and it is therefore no wonder, when he had established the peace of the nation, that he endeavoured so much to cure the ignorance and barbarity of the age he lived in. Indeed the age he lived in, it must be owned, was deluged with blood and violence through the discord and animosity natural to the Irish, as well as through the repeated incursions of the savage Danes: which is a circumstance that makes his own endowments

dowments and dispositions still more extraordinary: BRIAN; and though it hath been objected against him, that he deposed the reigning Monarch, and thrust himself with violence into the throne, yet this objection is not just; at least it does not operate with that force which those who have brought it, designed it should.

It is true, that the Heremonian family had for several ages past, confined the monarchy of Ireland to themselves, in exclusion of the other houses of HEBER and IR, of the old Milesian line. But it is likewise as true, that the succession to the throne had always been elective; that no regard had ever been had from the beginning to hereditary right; but to superior, wisdom and valour; and that the Heremonian succession had on many occasions before this, been interrupted, by electing sovereigns out of the other branches of the royal line. Besides, it does not appear, that the motion for deposing MALACHY came from BRIAN; or that he proposed himself for a successor on the throne. On the contrary, it hath been related, that the States of Munster and Conaught, reflecting on the melancholy and distressed condition of the nation, through the luxury and supineness of the Monarch, were the first that moved to dethrone him; and for the same reasons they were seconded by the united voice of the people. At the same time that this extraordinary step was resolved upon, they applied to BRIAN as the deliverer of his country, and besought him to take the reins of government into his hands; that being possessed of the sovereign power, he might do that for the rest of the kingdom, which he had already done for his own province of Munster, and so complete the destruction of their foreign enemies.

It is not to be supposed, at the age of seventy-six, which was then the age of the King,—an age when ambition must be dead in the breast of every man—that a kingdom in itself could have any charms

BRIAN. for BRIAN; and much less such a kingdom as was involved in all the circumstances of ruin and distress. It was impossible that he could look upon the crown of Ireland at that time, in any other light than as a burden upon his hoary head; which it would be a great trouble to him to wear, and which would make the evening of his days more insupportable. But however, when the public good and the just desires of his countrymen called upon him, he sacrificed the repose which was due to his old age, and exerted that resolution and magnanimity, and all those other heroic virtues, which have made his name venerable to succeeding times. His learning has been taken notice of in the history of his reign, and his religion may be easily enough collected from thence.

It may be proper, however, to mention, that as the sweetness of his disposition, and the regularity of his morals, were not impaired or injured by the exercises of war, or the liberties of a military life, so neither did those avocations, nor the splendor of a court, nor the necessary demands of state, prevent the exercises of piety: and from that order and devotion which his own example had introduced into his court—an example which gave him the reputation of a Saint after his death—he endeavoured to spread a spirit of seriousness and religion throughout his kingdom. To this end he gave the Bishops and Clergy the highest marks of his esteem and favour, and all possible encouragement in the discharge of their holy office: and by this encouragement, and by the particular friendship with which he treated every one who distinguished himself in the service of his country, by his learning, abilities, or religious zeal, he produced that alteration in the manners of the people, within the compass of his short and busy reign, which hath been mentioned. To all this it may be added, that his condescension, easiness of access,

and

and pleasantry of conversation in all his calm and social hours, were equal to the courage and the greatness of his mind in time of danger or distress; and all together, they make him compared to no one with so much propriety as to our ALFRED.

This great Irish Monarch was in twenty skirmishes, or rencounters with the Danes, in every one of which he was successful; and he commanded in chief in nine and twenty pitched battles against them, without losing one. The reputation which he had acquired in the field of battle, was to be equalled by few in any age of the world, but it was to be excelled by none. He commanded in more engagements than J. CÆSAR, distinguished himself in all of them with amazing intrepidity, and even fought up to the character of a hero in romance. In short, it may be said of BRIAN BOROMY, that he was a prodigy of goodness, of understanding and of greatness. To look at him through his piety, one would think he had spent all his life in a cloister; to examine the productions of his genius, we should be inclined to believe, that his whole time had been occupied in learning and the sciences; and to view him as a general and a Monarch, he appears to have studied nothing but the art of war and politicks, the conquest of his enemies, and the ease and prosperity of his subjects. How much is it then to be regretted, that the ALEXANDERS and the CÆSARS, and the other tyrants and oppressors of mankind, should meet with such noble writers to perpetuate their memory, when a BRIAN, whose superior abilities were entirely directed to the good of his people, should have the misfortune to be recorded only by Monks; the lowest and most insufficient of all writers!

With this thunderbolt of war, and his eldest son MORTOGH, fell many other heroic valiant Princes of his house, his sons and grandsons, in this fatal battle; besides the Kings and Princesses of territories in

BRIAN. his jurisdiction. On the other side, the Generals of the Danes, the two sons of the King of Denmark, and their unnatural ally the King of Leinster, whose implacable animosity had been the sole occasion of this war, with almost all the Chiefs and Princes in his province, met with the same calamitous fate in this memorable action. Of the Danish army, it is said, that four thousand perished in the first charge, and six thousand seven hundred more in the action and pursuit: the Leinster troops did not suffer so much, having only three thousand seven hundred slain in the whole. But the victory was not gained without the loss of four thousand of the Irish forces under the Monarch. Such were the miserable effects of a war, entered into to gratify the resentment of a Prince, for a trifling affront, not worth the private anger of an hour! Could his own death alone have paid the forfeit of his unchristian and unmanly rage, it would have been justly merited and unlamented. But to be so far subdued by an irascible temper, as to draw out thousands to be butchered in his private quarrel, will make the memory of MALMORDA, King of Leinster, infamous to posterity: indeed it will have a worse effect, it will give an unfavourable idea of the religion of the ancient Irish of that time, whose natural ferocity was still untamed, and the barbarity of their manners still unreformed by it. It must be observed however that this fall, from the politeness, virtue, learning, and good manners, which had distinguished the Irish nation from all others, has been attributed by a late historian—and perhaps not untruly—to their communication with those barbarous Normans which had been the pest of Europe.

The battle of Clontarf is such a memorable even in the Irish history, and notwithstanding some few skirmishes after, did in its consequence so effectually destroy the Danish power in Ireland, as to extinguish all further attempts against it by those people, that I have dwelt upon it longer

than may be thought necessary. It is reported by **BRIAN**. **MAC CURTIN**, that **BRIAN** was not killed, but mortally wounded in his tent; and that **DONOGH** one of his sons, who had survived the action and then commanded the royal army, having buried their dead in the field of battle, brought the wounded Monarch, and the bodies of his brothers and the other Princess slain in the action to Kilmainham, a mile west of Dublin on the other side the Liffy from Clontarfe, where the last were honourably interred; and that **MORTOGH** particularly had a long stone standing at one end of his tomb, with his name written upon it. Of the good old Monarch he says further, that finding his end approaching he called for his chaplain the Bishop of Inis-cathy, from whom he received the holy rites of the church, and then made his will, leaving his crown to **TEIG** his then eldest son. The day after his death the Clergy of the abby of Swords came and carried his body thither, from whence it was fetch'd by two other sets of religious successively to their respective Monasteries, and then it was met by the Archbishop of Ardmagh accompanied by a great number of Princes and clergy of all orders, who carried it to Ardmagh; where he had desired to be buried, and where it was interred with all possible solemnity and extreme sorrow.

The royal army having obtained this signal victory, though with the loss of their Monarch and some of the best blood in the nation, had nothing to do but to break up and return home. Accordingly the two bodies separated: those of the province of Conaught took the shortest way home to their own country; and the Momonians began their march under the conduct of **DONOGH** the son of **BRIAN**. What was then become of **TEIG** the eldest brother, and how it happened that **DONOGH** was the chief commander of the Momonians, no historian has informed us, except **MAC CURTIN**;

BRIAN. who says that **TEIG** was absent at the battle of Clontarfe, having been sent by his father into the country of Louth to collect a part of the royal tribute which the people of that country had neglected to pay; that **DONOGH** being ambitious to possess himself of the sovereignty, sent for the Prince of Ely, and offered to release him of all the dues paid by his country to the King of the southern half of the island, if he would immediately surprize his brother **TEIG** and carry him away into Ely; and that this scheme was affected, and the Prince lost his life. But **KEATING** names **TEIG** as one of the sons of **BRIAN** who attended him in this battle; and of **DONOGH** he says afterwards, that he was an usurper on the rights of his elder brother, whom he put into the hands of Ely O Carroll men who treacherously murdered him; and for which base action he was deposed, and obliged to leave his country in order to save his life. But this was so many years after the battle of Clontarfe and his assuming the royal authority, that one cannot suppose it to be a punishment for the murder of his brother at this time; and if he was not murdered then, we are at a loss to know what became of him for so many years.

Be this however as it might; which I shall attempt to explain in the next book, **DONOGH** certainly was at the head of all the Momonian forces in their march from Clontarfe to their own province. But they had scarcely proceeded above twenty miles, before the old dispute began to revive about the alternate government of Munster, devised by their great ancestor **OLIOLL OLUM**, between the Princess of Dalgarian and Eugonian tribes, the martial inhabitants of that province. They had fought indeed like brothers in the same cause, in the late engagement; and it was principally owing to the vigour and intrepidity of the illustrious Dalgais, in defence of their beloved chief—who was also
their

their provincial King and the Monarch of Ireland **BRIAN.**
—that the royal army had proved victorious in that bloody battle. But these considerations were of no force; the Dalgais were very much reduced in their number by the slaughter of that day, and many of those then on the march were wounded. The Eugénian Princes desirous to regain the sovereignty of their province, and finding their force greatly superior, thought this a proper time to renew their claim. Wherefore withdrawing their battalions to a little distance, they sent a message to **DONOGH**—till then the leader of both the bodies of the Momonians, as the son of **BRIAN**—demanding that he would relinquish all pretensions to the crown of Munster, which according to the disposal of their great ancestor was to be alternate; though his uncle and his father had violated this constitution.

It must be owned that this constitution had in the course of so many centuries been so often broken in upon by ambitious Princes, that though the Eugénians might have the plea of prescriptive right, yet it seems not a little ungenerous to take this opportunity to insist upon it, when they were three thousand effective men to one; when the family of **BRIAN** and the whole tribe of the Dalgais had suffered so much in the late engagement; and when they were upon the march home, in which it was impossible for **DONOGH** to encrease his forces. Whether he was more surprized or offended at this demand, it is difficult to determine: we may be very sure he must be both. But he boldly replied without hesitation, that the submission which the Eugénians paid to his uncle and his father was through force; that those Princes came to the sovereignty of the province, not by virtue of such an ancient disposition, but by their valour, which had wrested it from the Danes their common enemy; that he would endeavour to keep what had descended to him from such a father; that they

BRIAN. durst not be so insolent as to demand his submission, if they had not taken the advantage of his misfortunes and their own superior number; and if the brave corps he commanded had not suffered so extremely in the late battle, instead of giving them hostages for his resignation of the crown, that he would chastize their mutiny and disobedience, and oblige them to give security for their future loyalty and submission.

When **DONOGH** had dismissed the messenger with this answer, which he perceived the Momonians were preparing to resent by arms, he communicated the contents of the extraordinary demand that had been made upon him, and the scorn and indignation with which he had treated it. The tribe of the Dalgais, who had a double tie upon them to revenge his cause—their right to the sovereignty of the province won by their own swords, and their adherence to the family of their late beloved king—were no sooner informed of the pretensions of the Eugenians, than they one and all declared they would stand by the Prince to the last extremity; and though the Eugenians should attack them in their present situation, with such superior numbers. The Eugenians indeed had determined to take the advantages they were possessed of, in order to vindicate their right and to settle the succession in the ancient channel; and therefore formed themselves in battle array. But **DONOGH**, being animated by the loyalty and resolution of his little army, and by the remembrance of the invincible Hero from whom he descended, when he saw the Eugenians stand to their arms and ready to fall upon him, commanded that the wounded should retire to a Danish rath at a little distance, with a proper guard to secure them; whilst he with the remainder should engage the enemy. The wounded men however considering that by this means their chief would be deprived of a third part of his forces, which all together were not half the number of the
Euge-

Eugenians, and being determined to act worthy of BRIAN. the tribe to which they belonged, refused their General's kindness, filled their wounds with green moss that was just at hand, and calling for their arms embodied themselves with their comrades, being resolved to share their fate. As soon as the Eugenians saw this desperate spirit of the Dalgaisian army, and finding their own soldiers, it may be, touched with compassion for their brave unhappy countrymen, with whom they had always fought before under one banner, they declined the engagement; and contented themselves with marching homeward by a different route.

Few such instances of moderation, as this, are to be met with in the history of this warlike people; and the cause of this perhaps is to be sought for, in the jealousy and suspicion of the Eugénian Prince who claimed the sovereignty, rather than in a spirit of magnanimity and forbearance which prevailed in the Mononian army. But however this might be, the invincible tribe of the Dalgais were not to return home without acquiring further renown for their valour and intrepidity. It seems the King of Ossory had conceived a mortal aversion to the late Monarch for the imprisonment of his father: and as these quarrels were continued from one generation to another, so neither DONOGH, nor even the Dalgais who had been the guards of BRIAN, were to escape the resentment of MAC GILLY-PATRICK the Ossorian King. To this purpose he assembled all his own army, and a powerful body of subsidies of Leinster, with a determined resolution to oppose the march of the Dalgaisian forces through his territories. When the scouts that he had dispatched to watch the motions of this tribe informed him of their approach, and that they were then encamped upon his borders, he sent a herald to DONOGH to demand hostages for a security that no subsistence nor contri-

BRIAN. contributions should be levied by his army as they marched through the territories of Ossory, and if he refused these conditions to declare war against him and that he would oppose their march and give him battle. Incensed with rage and indignation at this insulting message, **DONOGH** told the herald who brought it, that he was much surprised at the baseness of the King of Ossory in taking advantage of the distress of his army; that he himself should set it down as one of the greatest misfortunes of his whole life, to be thus exposed to the insults of an insignificant petty prince who was below his notice; and that notwithstanding his master had in a cowardly manner declared war against him, when he knew his army was so reduced as that he had but little more than a tenth part of the force of the army of Ossory, yet he was not afraid to meet this pusillanimous King in the field of battle; where he did not doubt, notwithstanding the great disparity of numbers, to make **MAC GILLY-PATRICK** feel and confess that the tribe of Dalgais were still invincible. The herald being unwilling to carry back this bold and high spirited answer to the King his master, presumed to argue the case with **DONOGH**; to set forth the number, valour and good order of the combined army, and the wretched condition of the handful of men which were to oppose it; and thence attempted to dissuade him from his design of fighting. The Dalgaisian General, unused to such language even from Princes—for nothing was too perilous for his tribe not to attempt—was so enraged at this presumption of the herald, that he told him if the law of nations had not secured his person, he would order his tongue to be cut out for his insolence, and bid him repair immediately to his master with the answer that had been given him.

As soon as the herald was departed, not doubting but the King of Ossory would immediately march

march to give him battle, when the force on both sides was so unequal, DONOGH lost no time in proclaiming to his little army the insolent demand of the King of Ossory, and the menace with which they were threatened upon a refusal ; which his army resented as warmly as he could wish. When he had thus wound up their spirit to its former pitch, which was become languid through the fatigue and hardships they had undergone, his next care was to send off his wounded men to a little distance under a sufficient guard—though it would deprive him of a third part of his force—to break up his camp, and to form in order of battle to receive the enemy. But no sooner were the sick and wounded informed of the Prince's design with regard to them, than they earnestly besought him as before in the expected battle with the Eugenians, that they might share the same fate with him and their fellow soldiers, and either conquer or die. A man must be void of all feelings of tenderness and humanity, who does not feel on this occasion both for the General and the men. A scene of greater tenderness and distress can scarcely be figured in imagination ; and the conflict in the breast of DONOGH, with affections that cut, like a two edged sword, both ways at once, is easier to be conceived than well described. His concern however for the lives of the sick and wounded got the better of his desire to please them, as well as not to weaken the strength he had, which was already but too unequal to the dreadful combat they were preparing for. He therefore ordered them to be informed, that though their request was worthy of the illustrious tribe whose name they bore, and he was charmed with their fidelity to him, yet as they were much more weakened with the loss of blood and the fatigues of their march than they were at the rupture with the Eugenians, he could not consent to put them under the unhappy dilemma they had marked out for themselves.

But

BRIAN. But this affectionate answer of their Prince, instead of assuaging the emotion kindled in their breast, made it the more violent, and produced such a resolution as I believe is not to be equalled in any history of mankind. As they were then encamped on the side of a wood, they desired the General would order a sufficient number of posts to be cut down, in order to be drove into the ground on the field of battle between every two effective men; at which they might be tied, as a support, whilst their hands would be at liberty to annoy the enemy: besides this addition to the strength of his little army, they told him that the fury of their comrades would be redoubled, who would be ashamed to abandon them in that helpless state, and who must know that nothing but victory could prevent their slaughter. This proposal being urged in their behalf to **DONOGH** with great warmth, he reluctantly gave way; they bound up their wounds again with fresh moss; the posts were willingly made ready by the rest of the army; they marched to the field whereon they were to engage; and being drawn up in order of battle, the posts were drove into the ground along the ranks in the manner they had desired, to which they were making fast just as the army of the enemy came in sight.

Whether this unusual preparation to devote themselves thus resolutely to destruction, and of men who were deemed invincible, struck a pannick into the front of the King of **Ossory's** army which ran like wild fire through the whole, or whether they thought the cause he had engaged them in was unjust, or whether they were touched with compassion when they saw the small number and the distresses of the **Dalgaisian** army, it is certain that the men of **Ossory**, as well as their allies from **Leinster**, absolutely refused to fight. The first is the only motive assigned for this refusal; and though the historians compile from seldom trace effects to their causes,

yet in this instance, as we may conjecture from the ruling manners of the age they have probably led us to the true, if not the only source. For in answer to the remonstrance of the King of Ossory that they were almost ten to one, and his reproaches of their cowardice, we hear of no other plea made by his army than that the bravery of the Dalgais was irresistible; that the sick and wounded were as eager to fight as the effective men, as might be seen by the desperate resolution they had taken never before heard of; and therefore that they would not run into the jaws of lions to be inevitably torn to pieces. As much mortified and confounded as MAC GILLY-PATRICK must have been, not to be able to give battle to such a handful of men so weakened, and with such a numerous army as he led against them to support his challenge, yet all his efforts to persuade or provoke his men to make the attack were vain and fruitless; and he was obliged to submit to a disgrace, which was the more insupportable as it had never been known before in the history of any age among that warlike people.

When the Dalgais had stood to their arms long enough to be convinced that the enemy durst not join battle with them, and that they were retiring out of the field, DONOGH proceeded on his march homeward; and the King of Ossory contented himself with harrassing them by frequent skirmishes with the rear. It was impossible these should not happen; but the skill and caution of the Momonian Prince in making good his retreat was so admirable, that in a march of above forty miles he lost but a hundred and fifty of his tribe when they reached their native country. Having thus brought them home from the famous battle of Clontarfe, and having shewed the difficulties and dangers which they had to encounter on the one side, and the skill and intrepidity with which they surmounted them on the other, I must now leave these illustrious Dalgais in the

BRIAN

MALA. the enjoyment of that repose and glory which were their due, and pursue the thread of the history.

II.
A. D. When the untimely fate of the Monarch **BRIAN**
1014. was known over the island, the states of the kingdom assembled to elect a successor: and though none of them would lend their assistance to preserve **MALACHY** on the throne against the united voice of the people in favour of **BRIAN**, yet they all concurred in restoring him to it. Whether they were willing to prevent any further intrusion of the provincial Kings, and to bring back their constitution to its old principles of choosing a Monarch of the Heremonian line, or whether **MALACHY** had soothed them with fair promises of activity in the service of his country after the great example of **BRIAN**, or whether both these circumstances might not concur to influence the election, from the silence of all the historians is not to be known. But on the other hand, it does not appear from any thing that has been related, that he had merited this restoration. He had sat quietly under his deposal, it is true, without attempting to disturb the public peace: but the public peace was so well secured by the valour, the good conduct, and the great popularity of the renowned **BRIAN**, that any attempt to disturb it by **MALACHY** must have ended in his own destruction. Reasons of safety therefore to himself, and not reasons of affection to the public good, swayed the mind of the King of Meath to this peaceful demeanour under his just disgrace. I call it just, because let **BRIAN**'s intrusion, who was of the Heberian line, have what hard name it may, yet when a Prince gives himself up to sloth and dissipation, and abandons the care and interests of his people to the rage and cruelty of an enemy—as he did—in a country too especially where the Monarch had the sole administration of government and was to do every thing in it himself, the people have a right to take care of themselves.

to divest him of the power he so infamously abuses, and to confer it upon another who will be the guardian of their rights and liberties. This is not indeed the slavish doctrine of passive obedience so absurdly and so wickedly sounded from our pulpits in the last century, but it is the doctrine of religion, of reason, and of common sense.

It is evident by the King of Meath's withdrawing with his battalions just at the moment the two armies joined in battle, though he marched with them under the name of an ally to the Irish Monarch, that he took the first opportunity he could take with safety of shewing his resentment and disobedience : for he apprehended doubtless that by this perfidy in such a crisis, he should throw the army of BRIAN into confusion, and give the victory to his enemy. His not attempting any thing therefore against the public peace whilst this Monarch was on the throne, was not, as I have said, any merit in him, and from any regard to the public, and therefore without other reasons did not entitle him to a restoration. Restored however he was with the general consent of the states of the kingdom, at least to outward appearance : and to give them a taste of his new zeal and activity, and that the example of his predecessor might not be a fresh reproach to him, he soon after marched to Dublin, in order to chastize the rebellious Danes who had survived the battle of Clontarfe : and this he did very effectually, by destroying all the inhabitants, giving their effects up to the plunder of his soldiers, and then burnt the city. This is a chastisement which the Danes seem to have brought upon themselves very deservedly ; who had lived in so much ease and tranquillity under BRIAN's government, encouraged in their commerce and protected in their property, and yet who took the first opportunity to join his enemies against him. Though MALACHY therefore stood neuter in this rebellion,

yet

MALA.
II.

MALACHY II. yet he considered the Danes, it may be supposed, as highly criminal ; and perhaps to atone in some measure for his own base neutrality, as well as to avenge the cause of his predecessor whom he found every where lamented, he took these speedy measures in order to contribute to their final overthrow.

But what the people in the territory of Wexford had done to offend him we are not informed. We are only told, that immediately after he had burnt the city of Dublin, he marched into that country which he destroyed with fire and sword in a very dreadful manner. These people were inhabitants of the province of Leinster ; and though they did not first propose the expulsion of MALACHY from the throne, yet as they did not rise in his defence, he might perhaps take this revenge on that account. But then the same revenge was due to all the other provinces : and the next thing we are informed of is, that he marched with a great army into Ulster, and when he had plundered the country, made slaves of many of the inhabitants ; or as it is said by another writer, brought away many hostages. No reason is given, nor any conjecture offered for these hostilities : and if it was not in revenge for the part which the people of these countries took in his expulsion, or against his restoration, that he harrassed them in this manner, it must be imputed to that anarchy and confusion which upon the death of BRIAN broke out almost over the whole island. The illustrious example of that Monarch, his care of the public peace and the public interest, and the constant success with which his arms had been crowned against all his enemies, had through love or through fear restrained all the chiefs from their intestine feuds, and preserved the island in a tranquillity it had never known through so many years before. But this restraint being taken off unhappily by his death, the usual ferment was rekindled, and it blazed out perhaps with greater violence because it had been so long smothered. Be

Be this however as it might ; nothing is to be met with of that time but bitter woe for the loss of their last Monarch, and discontent and disobedience under the present government ; chiefs warring against chiefs for family quarrels and trifles, and MALACHY revenging the revolt of some territories with all the rage and cruelty of a licentious conqueror. Thus the King of the province of Leinster, and many of his nobility, assembled in one of their palaces, or, as others say, in the streets of Leighlin, were barbarously murdered by the King of Offory ; and he in return had his territories invaded and laid waste by the Monarch, and with many of his subjects was himself put to the sword. The remainder of the Danes too, taking advantage of these commotions, made an attempt to overthrow the succeeding King of Leinster ; but though he fell under this attempt, and many of his subjects were killed or plundered, yet the Danes were so thoroughly defeated by his successor, that from this time they were never able to make head against the Irish ; and the Danish interest, which had cost so many thousand lives to establish, was finally extinguished in that unhappy kingdom. The merit of this action however did not secure the King of Leinster from the malice and animosity of one of his family, by whom his house and he himself were burned. In the midst of these disturbances of the public peace, and notwithstanding the affections of the Kings and people were much estranged from MALACHY, yet he descended to his grave by a natural death. It is less extraordinary that he should have the character of a Prince of exemplary goodness and devotion during his last reign, when he repaired churches and monasteries, and re-established the public schools that were destroyed in these civil wars. With this second reign of MALACHY, and the final extinction of

MALA. II the Danish power, the monarchy of Ireland may be said to fail : for though several petty Kings assumed the title of Monarchs, and had some share of the power among their several factions, yet properly speaking there was no absolute Monarch elected as usual by all the states, and to which all the provinces submitted in the accustomed manner. An interregnum however of seventy-two years ensued, before any Monarch of the Heremonian line mounted the throne even in this divided state of it : and therefore as a new scene of government is now opening, it will be proper to reserve it for another book. The death of the last Monarch who swayed the sceptre over Ireland, and the total extermination of the Danes and Normans in that kingdom, will as properly likewise make a conclusion of this book ; which does more honour to Ireland, through the illustrious merit of the renowned BRIAN, than any other book in its ancient history. But as all this glory was overset by a spirit of faction, which split the nation into parties on the different sides of those who contended for the ruling power, so this should teach us to take warning by their example, that we do not hazard the public happiness in foolishly abetting those, who, regardless of the public good, are wicked enough to drive us into factions for their own private ends.

THE
HISTORY
OF
IRELAND.

BOOK XI.

ON the death of MALACHY, the whole Irish nation, which had been for some time before much altered from the state in which BRIAN left it, was thrown into the most violent and passionate contests about the succession to the monarchy. After comparing all the writers of this æra, and the several events that they have handed down, it appears to me that DONOGH made some attempts to succeed his father in the throne, as soon as he returned with his army from the battle of Clontarfe, and had made away with his brother; and that then it was that the rumour of his being concerned in the murder of TRIG had incensed all the states

WARRE.
LYNCH,
CAMDEN
OFLA-
HER.
KEAT-
ING.
RAY-
MOND.
HARRIS.
Dissertat.
H. ENG.
MS.

~~DONO. III of the kingdom against DONOCH,~~ and prevented his election to the monarchy. Finding his own tribe of the Dalgais so much reduced by the late battle; that the step which his mad ambition prompted, had been the principal cause to prevent his success; and therefore, that all opposition was now in vain, he left the kingdom; and with a few of the Dalgais who still adhered to him repaired as soldiers of fortune to Germany, where they were kindly entertained by the Emperor, who made the Irish Prince his General against the northern Heathens. After great success in that command, and being much honoured by the Emperor for it, they returned again to their native country, where DONOCH found himself but ill received; and that the insidious death of his elder brother, in which he was known to have had a hand, was not yet forgotten by those who had a pious regard for the memory of their father BRIAN. By some means or other however, either by tokens of great repentance, or because of the vast renown he had acquired in arms, the inhabitants in his own province were reconciled to him: they submitted to his government, and assisted him to recover the submission and the tribute that had usually been paid by others to the Kings of Munster. In this account, the reader is free from those ambiguities and contradictions which have not a little perplexed the writer; and if it is not the true one, it is at least the most probable he could discover.

DONOCH the King of Munster having thus established himself in his own province, as soon as MALACHY was dead, asserted his right to the throne of Ireland as the son of BRIAN. The right of BRIAN himself, it must be remembered, was not a right of succession, but a right acquired by popularity and some degree of force: and therefore this pretension of his son's, who was far from being

being popular, had nothing but force and faction to DONO. support it. These however enabled him to make a show of sovereignty and to assume the title of Monarch; and by these he got himself acknowledged and submitted to as such over all Leth Mogha--the southern half of the kingdom--and in the greatest part of the territories of the other half. But in opposition to him, a strong party was formed by DERMOD MAC MAL-NAMBO the provincial King of Leinster, and nephew to DONOGH, in favour of his cousin TURLOGH, a son of TEIG before-mentioned who had been murdered: and this Prince assumed also the title of Monarch of Ireland, and was acknowledged as such by the faction who supported him. The government being thus divided between two pretenders, some historians take notice of CUAN O LOCHAIN being appointed administrator of Ireland, without explaining how, or by what authority, such a new unheard-of office was erected. O FLAHERTY however says, that he died in the following year; and that this administrator, who was their most eminent poet and historian, exercised little or no authority beyond the bounds of Meath. WARE is very deficient and inaccurate in his whole account of the monarchy from the death of MALACHY: as no light is given us of this transaction by any writer, there seems no other way of accounting for it, if it was true, than by supposing that the people of that country who were attached to their succession in the Heremonian line, and took part with neither of these pretenders to the monarchy who were of another family, put their affairs under the management of this able man, till the constitution should recover itself, and place a Monarch of the right line upon the throne.

But this, which is only my conjecture, seems confirmed by what follows in the history; that DONOGH

DONO.III having raised a great army of the Momonians marched with them into Meath, preyed all that country, as well as a great part of Leinster and Ossory, encamped for two days near the walls of Dublin, and brought hostages from them all for their submission. This is the first act we are informed of in his reign ; and it seems occasioned by the transaction above-mentioned, and by the opposition given him by the King of Leinster, who had set up TURLOGH as his rival. In return however for this depredation, they raised all their strength in Leinster, and being joined by some of the Momonians, who had revolted against DONOCH, carried hostilities into Munster. Among other ravages which they committed, they plundered, sacked, and burned the city of Waterford ; from whence they brought away many prisoners and a great number of cattle. On the same side the King of Breffwy made an attack upon DONOCH by sea and land ; but, notwithstanding his success at first, he himself with most of his army was slaughtered by the Monarch ; who with one ship only fought his fleet likewise, and sunk and took fourteen vessels of Breffwy.

In this sort of devastations committed by both parties, as each had the power of committing them, were the rights and liberties, the lives and properties, of the poor people of Ireland taken away : and in a series of forty years which these outrages continued, it is no wonder that the nation should lose all the polity, the improvements and good manners, that had been restored by BRIAN ; and that they should be returning apace to that ignorance, anarchy, and licentiousness, which the Danish wars had introduced. To recite the particular actions of the two contending parties could afford the reader no pleasure, nor could it be of any other use than to teach us, what may be learnt from the general account already given, how necessary it is for a state
possessing

possessing liberty to guard against tumultuary and factious abuse of it, lest it end, as it did with these unhappy people, in its destruction. DONO. III.

The faction of the King of Leinster and the Monarch TURLOGH whom he had set up, and with whom in a manner he partook of the sovereign power that the other had, grew at last to be superior to that of DONOCH. In particular they devastated Munster so much, that the inhabitants forsook their King, and gave hostages to the other Monarch for their future loyalty. By this distress the great mind of DONOCH seems to have been subdued ; and yet his ambition had not subsided with his years. He had known what it was to be obliged to leave his country and to seek his fortune abroad ; but he was then in the prime of life. He had the mortification now in his old age to be obliged to flee from his dominions for his safety ; his enemy having got the upperhand, and all his friends having forsook him. Some of the historians say, in order to save his credit, that he undertook a pilgrimage to Rome that he might wipe off the stain of his brother's blood, by his Holiness's absolution, and his own repentance. But the truth is, that he went to Rome with no such penitential views ; he had placed his hopes in the Pope's authority to restore him to the power which both his friends and enemies had deprived him of ; and for this purpose he carried the crown of Ireland with him, which he laid at his Holiness's feet ; promising to subject to him a kingdom, which for two thousand years had acknowledged no other jurisdiction, civil or ecclesiastical, but that of its own Monarchs and its own laws and constitution. As solicitous as the court of Rome was to extend its power in those days, nothing however was done in consequence of the submission of this exiled Prince. The people of Ireland were too much

DONO. III. agitated with their domestic factions to hearken to any pretensions of a foreign power : but this mere possession of the crown of Ireland by the Pope, hath been set forth very pompously by some writers, as an authority for the donation of that kingdom by ADRIAN to our HENRY the second ; with what reason let the reader himself determine. DONOGH finding at last that this resource had failed him, and that there was no chance of re-ascending the throne of Ireland, made a virtue of necessity, took the habit of a religious in St. Stephen's Abbey at Rome, and spent the rest of his days in the exercises of devotion.

TUR-LOGH. On DONOGH's quitting the kingdom, TURLOGH was left without any competitor ; and though never elected to the monarchy, nor submitted to nor acknowledged by the states of the island in due form, yet with the aid and association of his cousin DERMOD the King of Leinster, he from this time assumed the sovereign power ; no other Prince opposing his title nor refusing to pay the usual tribute. Indeed MORTOGH the son of DONOGH, a very valiant Prince, made a shew at first of disputing with him the crown of Munster ; but they soon quelled that insurrection, received hostages again from that province, chased MORTOGH into Connaught, and reduced the King of it to such streights for giving him shelter, that he was at last obliged to buy his peace at the pleasure of the reigning Monarch and his ally the King of Leinster. The latter notwithstanding all his great success in driving away his uncle, and placing his cousin upon the throne, was at last defeated and slain in battle by CONNOR the King of Meath ; whose territories he had wasted several times with great cruelty, making no discrimination between things sacred and profane.

A much better character is given of TURLOGH whom he had advanced ; for though he always had

had a numerous army on foot to keep his subjects ^{TUR-} in awe, yet after the death of DERMOD he never ^{LOGH,} made use of his power against any of them; and they, on their side, were contented to give him no disturbance. He seems to have imitated the example of his grandfather BRIAN, as far as the distractions of the time would suffer him, in establishing good laws, in punishing the transgressors, and in protecting and rewarding merit. Archbishop Usher has printed a collection of Letters wrote in latin, which passed between the Kings of Ireland, and the Archbishops of Canterbury and Dublin in this age: amongst which is a letter from LANFRANK the English Primate to TURLOGH, whom he styles the magnificent King of Ireland, and that does him so much honour as to deserve a copy in this work [a]. No other account is necessary to be given of this Monarch, in order to shew that he was worthy of his great descent, and of the throne he filled. At all times to fill it with glory to themselves and happiness to their people, where the power of the Monarch was so circumscribed, and that of the provincial Kings and petty Princes so great, was extremely difficult. But at this time, when the nation was torn to pieces with faction in a very extraordinary manner, his own title denied by

[a] “ That God has bestowed his blessing upon the kingdom of Ireland, when he raised your excellency to the regal dignity of that kingdom, is evident to every considering person: for so many are the great things which our brother and fellow-bishop PATRICK hath reported concerning your pious condescension to good men, your strict justice in punishing vice, and your manifest equity to all your subjects, that though I have not seen you, I love you as if I had.”—Usserii Sylloge Epistol. Hibern. p. 71. I saw a copy of this book in the college library, with many notes and explanations in the margin in the Primate's own hand writing.

TUR-
LOGH.

by the greatest part of the people though acquiesced in by all, no election made of him by the states of the kingdom, and of course no inauguration of him having been performed, under these circumstances to govern a people, free even to licentiousness, with popularity or approbation, was a task too arduous for any man, whose heart was not good, and whose understanding was not excellent.

In the reign of this Irish Prince, WILLIAM the second, surnamed Rufus, was on the throne of England; who hearing a great character of the Irish oak, sent a messenger to TURLOGH to desire that he might be furnished with a sufficient quantity for the roof of Westminster-hall that was then building; and his request was gratified. Though I have not met with any English historian who mentions this circumstance, and have been told there is no Irish oak used about that edifice---the truth of which I know nothing of, nor whether it can be ascertained---yet the fact may be as it is related. Towards the latter end of his reign, which lasted two and twenty years, TURLOGH was much afflicted with a very painful languishing distemper, which he sustained with a becoming patience and resignation for several years, till death released him from it at the age of seventy-seven. Heroic deeds of valour are most apt to catch the attention of the reader, and to acquire his applause and affection; and those have not been wanting in TURLOGH's history: but a legislator who consults the happiness of his state, by devising good laws for its safety and prosperity, and by attending carefully to their execution---a thing scandalously neglected by English magistrates---is a much better man, and a more useful citizen, than the destroyer of mankind at the head of an army: and yet the one acquires glory, and the other at most a silent approbation.

The

The death of **TURLOGH** proved another occasion for faction to rear its head over the Irish nation : in supporting the different claims of **MORTOGH** the son of **TURLOGH**, and **DONALD O'LOCHLIN**, of the old Heremonian line : the one under the sanction of the new constitution, which had introduced the provincial Kings in the person of **BRIAN** his great ancestor, so long, and, as it was pretended, so unjustly excluded from the Monarchy ; and the other, claiming a long prescriptive right of succession for many ages in the royal Hy-Niall family, of which he was the head. In contests of this nature, the most powerful army, or the greatest interest in the state, which is much the same, and not the constitution, is generally the last resort. Many instances of this occur in our own history ; and even our Parliaments, which ought sacredly to guard the constitution—but if ever it is destroyed, will be the destroyers of it—have voted some Monarchs in, and others out, on the same principle. In Ireland, the constitution was not prostituted so freely ; as barbarous a nation as we affect to call it, long after the period in which our own parliaments paid no regard to right and justice. The order of succession in the Heremonian line had been broken in upon but once in above a thousand years : and had not that interruption been permitted, the fatal contests for the monarchy since the death of **BRIAN**, which had well nigh devastated the country, and did really in their effects dissolve the constitution and destroy their liberties, might never have had a being.

Many writers take no notice of the monarchical power claimed and exercised by **DONALD**, and call **MORTOGH** the proper successor to **TURLOGH**, in the throne of Ireland. Of this number are **WARE** and **KEATING** ; but we are told by the best authorities,

MORT. III
and Do-
NALD V.
A.D. 1094

MORT. III
and Do-
NALD V.

authorities, that the first of these Princes, who was likewise King of TIRCONNELL, according to the famous Division of Leth Con and Loth Mogha, formerly mentioned, had the sovereign command of the northern, and the last of the southern half of the Kingdom. Though much blood must have been shed before this division could take place, yet a divided monarchy--if it may be called so--contented neither; and in a struggle for the whole, which lasted twenty years, the people were ground between them. It would only shock our humanity to recite the several particulars of this bloody contest, in which sometimes the one, and sometimes the other party prevailed; but always to the disadvantage of the country and its inhabitants. Every year almost produced a cessation of arms, by the intervention of the prelates and other patriots, who endeavoured to reconcile their jarring interests; but it was all in vain; every year almost produced the same spoil and plunder, the same devastation of lands and houses, and the same bloody battles. A very instructive lesson this is to a free people, not to enter into the designs of men of factious spirits, under the deceitful notion that the decision of the contest will soon be made, and that the first victory on either side, will compose the troubled waters; which are generally turned into a sea of blood.

Whether it was from a real regard to the interest of the Church, as the historians say, or out of policy to secure the affections of the clergy, it is impossible for us to say, but certain it is, that MORTOGH alienated the Church of Cashel from the Kings of Munster, and appropriated it for ever to the Archbishop's See. The book of reigns in the Irish language, gives a large account of this Monarch, and represents him as a good and godly Prince, who made a great progress in restoring the Church and

and State to their former splendour, in rebuilding some, and endowing other churches and monasteries with lands. Very little of this kind could be done, I think, amidst the distractions in which the kingdom was involved during his reign; he might have the will, but he could not have the power, to do much in this way to any effect. Three national synods, or one synod continued by prorogation at different times, it is said, were summoned by this Prince: of which some account will be given towards the close of the book. WILLIAM of Malmfbury, and from him WARE has said, "that our HENRY the First had MORTOGH and his successors so much at his devotion, that they would not write nor do any thing without his approbation; though it was reported that MORTOGH, for what cause was not known, had for some time carried himself more high than usual towards the English, but upon the interdicting of shipping and commerce, he soon grew milder." No notice is taken of any such intercourse as this between the Monarchs of that age by any Irish writer; neither are there any traces of treaties of commerce betwen this nation and that, in their whole history; but yet, questionable as it is, I do not determine against the fact.

In the same collection of letters, published by USHER abovementioned, there is one from ANSELM, Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. [a] The letter which is given below, shews at least that this Prince governed the half of the kingdom that was allotted to him, with peace and reputation; and that

[a] I give thanks to God for the many good things that are reported of your Highness; particularly that you govern your kingdom in so much peace, that all good men who hear thereof, return their thanks to God, and wish a long continuance of your life, &c." Usserii Sylloge epistol. Hibern.

MORT. III
and Do-
NALD V.

that his fame was not confined to his own country. As another proof of this, we are told in the chronicles of the Isle of Man, as they are given us by CAMDEN, that upon a vacancy of their government, or rather during the minority of the next heir, "the Nobility of that isle dispatched ambassadors to MORTOGH O BRIAN, King of Ireland, desiring that he would send them some diligent man or other, of a royal extraction to rule over them, during the minority of OLAVE the son of their late sovereign. The King readily consented, and sent DONALD, the son of TEIG, with orders and instructions to govern the kingdom, though it belonged not to him, with modesty and tenderness. But as soon as he was advanced to the throne, he behaved with so much cruelty, that at the end of three years he was banished."

A ridiculous story is told in the same annals, and copied by WARE and KEATING, of MAGNUS, King of Norway, sending a messenger to MORTOGH, with his shoes, which he commanded him to carry on his shoulders through his house on Christmas-day, as a testimony of his subjection, and of the King of Ireland's complying with this indignity. I have called the story ridiculous, because it appears so at first sight: it is moreover incredible, that a Prince of MORTOGH's descent, intrepidity, and power in the southern half of Ireland, who was continually in arms against the Monarch of the other half, should so tamely yield to such an ignominious subjection to a King of Norway, with whom he had never had any connexion or dispute: neither is it all likely that a King of Norway should send an ambassage to MORTOGH on such an insolent errand. The other story which follows, still further confirms the incredibility of the last: it is said, that MAGNUS was not content with this abject submission of the King of Ireland, but

but fitted out a numerous fleet manned with Danes MORT. III. and Normans, in order to plunder and destroy his and Do- country. As soon as the Northern King and his NALD V. nobility, and some of the soldiers, from the first ships were landed, the Irish army who were in ambush, were so well prepared to receive them, that the invaders were every one cut to pieces; which the rest of the fleet observing, they immediately tacked about and returned home.

Towards the latter end of this divided Monarchy between MORTOGH and DONALD, the young King of Connaught called TURLOGH the Great, grew extremely troublesome to them both. He was a Prince of the Heremonian line, of a warlike intrepid spirit, and of many private virtues. With this disposition, and this character, it was no difficult thing for him to take advantage of the dissensions which then prevailed. Whether he wrested all power out of the hands of MORTOGH, as some writers say, or whether a languishing disease, under which he laboured for some years, inclined that King to relinquish the cares of a government which had been always extremely troublesome, as others say, it is impossible for us to determine. It is not improbable, that both may be in the right. Be this however as it might, he retired about two years before his death to the monastery of Lismore, and after a short stay in that place, took the habit of a monk at Ardmagh, where he ended his days in quiet; but the place of his interment is much disputed. In the British Chronicles which speak of his death, he is stiled, "the most great and worthy King of all Ireland;" and in the annals of Leighlin, it is said of him, "MORTOGH, the most serene Prince, faithful to his allies, formidable to his enemies, bountiful to strangers, who for his piety and justice above all other Princes, deserved the love of his subjects, died and was buried at Ferns."

On

Do-
NALD V.
A.D. 1119

On the death of MORTOGH, his rival did not acquire, as he perhaps expected, any addition to his former authority : even that was much disputed by TURLOGH, at it had been before. But DONALD made a shift to preserve it till his death, which was two years after that of MORTOGH. It must be observed, however, that this is a period in the history, attended with great confusion, from the different accounts of the different writers ; which I have not been able to reconcile. Indeed it happens to be a point of no great consequence, whether the former survived the latter two years or six ; whether TURLOGH had any share of the government of the southern division, or, notwithstanding all the insurrections which he occasioned, was only King of Connaught as before ; and whether on the death of DONALD an interregnum of fifteen years succeeded. TURLOGH assumed the title, and was in fact acknowledged King of Ireland by the majority of the people, immediately on his demise. Such, and so various are the accounts that we meet with of this time ! But with regard to the circumstance of the interregnum, which is the most material, and mentioned only by WARE, and by him very doubtfully, it may be determined, I think from LYNCH, and Mr. O CONNOR, that no Prince, on the death of DONALD, was found able to contend with TURLOGH, who was owned King of Ireland by the greatest part of the nation.

TURLOH
A.D. 1121

It must be owned, it seems incredible in itself if we had not their authority to direct us, that a Prince so warlike in his temper, so powerful in the field, and so formidable to the two departed Kings, as TURLOGH was, should not seize the vacant throne of the whole kingdom immediately, but wait fifteen years, when there was no competitor, before he assumed the title of Monarch of Ireland.

Ireland. It is possible it might be fifteen years before ^{TURLO II} he had so far subdued the several chiefs who opposed him, as to get himself acknowledged by the greatest part of the people; and to that period some writers may have given the name of an inter-regnum. But there can be no doubt, I think, of his assuming the title of King, as soon as DONALD was dead, and grasping at the sovereign power of the whole island, for which he had contended, and in a great measure succeeded, during his life.

In the life of DONALD, and even of MORTOGH, I believe it was—for the time is not ascertained by any writer—the province of Munster was invaded by him, and plundered with great hostility; and though a Prince of the house of BRIAN attacked him in his retreat, and defeated and broke his army with a terrible slaughter, yet soon recovering this loss, he invaded it a second time by sea and land; marching himself at the head of his army, and committing inexpressible barbarities upon the people, till he came to Cork; where his fleet, which had obeyed his orders in spoiling and ravaging all the coasts, met him according to his appointment: and together they reduced the province so much under his obedience, that, taking hostages for their submission and future homage, he committed the government of the North division to CONNOR O BRIAN, and that of the Southern to DONOGH MAC CARTHY, of the same royal house. In short, all the provinces of the island were each in their turn invaded and harrassed by this King of Connaught, while the throne was filled by the two Princes abovementioned: and he would scarcely therefore sit still when it was vacated by their death, without making an effectual struggle to place himself upon it.

No Monarch was inaugurated, nor elected by the states of the kingdom—as it hath been observed—since the reign of MALACHY; but he, as well

TURLOUGH as some others, had powerful factions, which got their authority submitted to over the greatest part of the island. But the same Chiefs which joined their force and interest to set them up, very often joined to oppose them, as their passions and private advantages directed. This conduct however was not peculiar to those people; our own history abounds with instances of this sort; and the source of it is to be sought for, not in particular climates and constitutions of government, but in human nature. No Prince experienced more these contradictory measures of opposition than TURLOUGH did, and no Prince ever defeated them with more success.

The Kings of Munster, of the house of BRIAN, between whom he had divided the government of that province, having quarrelled amongst themselves, and stirred up their factions against each other, TURLOUGH raised a powerful army, and a third time invaded it. But when he was advanced as far as the plains of Moin-more, he was met by TURLOUGH O BRIAN, at the head of three battalions of the Momonians—which WALSH interprets nine thousand—where the illustrious tribe of the Dalgais received such a defeat, as they had never known before. Other writers call them but three thousand, and perhaps with more probability: for since the death of MORTOGH, the Eugenians had not only separated from them, but the Dalgais themselves were much divided through the different pretensions of their rival Princes. The defeat in this battle ended with the banishment of TURLOUGH O BRIAN, and another division of the province of Munster by the Monarch. The dissensions of this royal family, brother setting up against brother, and each having a separate faction at their command, broke the force of the Dalgais in pieces, which when united, nothing could overthrow; and so prepared the way for the revolution that was to follow.

Amidst

Amidst all the opposition made to TURLOGH by TURLOGH the several Princes and Chiefs at different times, he not only stood his ground, but he generally subdued them. DERMOT the KING of Leinster, who was so greatly instrumental in the catastrophe of his country, was one of those whom the Monarch frequently chastized : indeed all the provinces felt the weight of his power and resentment in their turn. He made his own son King of Meath, of Dublin, and some other parts of Leinster : with his army he destroyed the country of Tirconnell, and with his navy he laid waste the territories of Tynone ; both under the government of MORTOGH O Lachlin, Prince of the North Hy-niall. Here however his resentment was carried further than he could support ; and this Prince, who was of the family of the last Monarch DONALD, became a rival too powerful for him to vanquish. It is said by some writers, that the glory of TURLOGH was so much obscured and his power humbled by this MORTOGH who was of the old Heremonian line, that he obliged the Monarch to give him hostages as a security for his peaceableness even six years before he died. But however this might be, it is certain that they attacked one another several times with various success by sea and land ; and that MORTOGH had procured, besides the remains of the Normans, the naval power of Scotland to aid him against the Monarch.

But this contest was concluded by the death of TURLOGH ; who having left almost all his personal estate to the clergy, to be divided in just proportions according to their several orders, hath had the character of dying a penitent and making a religious exit. Indeed if all that is said of him by LYNCH is true—which gave him the title of “TURLOGH the great”—he appears to have been a better man than from any thing that has yet been related of him. The distraction of the times, and

TURLOGH the continual opposition made to him by one Prince or other would not permit many great things to be done by him : but he built the three chief bridges in the province of Connaught ; he completed the cathedral of Tuam ; he built a hospital there and endowed it with a fair estate ; he settled a stipend on the professor of divinity at Ardmagh ; and he was so severe and inflexible in his punishment of delinquents, that having imprisoned his own son for some great offence, he rejected the application of many princes and prelates in his favour ; and even at the end of a year was with great difficulty, and not without the intercession of five hundred Priests, eleven Bishops, and the two Archbishops of Ardmagh and Cashel, prevail'd upon to set him at liberty. Besides many donations to the clergy of Tuam, and a great number of silver crosses, chalices, and goblets, he gave to several churches and religious houses by his will—as it hath been mentioned—all the costly furniture of his houses, his gold and silver vases, his gems and jewels, his plate, his horses, arms, and all his military equipage, his herds of cattle, together with sixty marks of silver, and sixty-five ounces of gold.

MORTO-
TO. IV.
A. D.
1156.

How the contest between him and the Prince of the North Hy-niall might have ended, if **TURLOGH** had lived a little longer, it is impossible for us to know : but his death delivered up to his rival **MORTOGH O Lachlin** the greatest part of the sovereignty of the island. The foundation of this grandeur was laid without doubt designedly in the opposition which he gave to **TURLOGH** ; and **RODERIC** the young King of Connaught, son of the latter, was the only Prince of any note who was able to dispute his authority, or to give him any disturbance. He did both for some time to a great degree : he invaded the Monarch's own territory of Tyrone, burnt a fruitful peninsula there called **Inis-owen**,

Inis-owen, destroyed all its fine gardens, orchards and plantations, and ravaged the whole country in a very hostile manner. In the same manner he made incursions into the province of Munster, taking hostages for their submission, as his father had done before : the next year he over-ran the province of Leinster, receiving hostages from some of the petty Princes, and putting one of them in irons ; at the same time that his fleet ravaged the coast of Tyrone. In a short time after he fell violently on the territory of Meath ; and compelling the inhabitants to give him pledges, placed two governors over them. The reader is not to imagine that MORTOGH sat quiet all this time, without exercising the power which he had acquired with his authority. I mean only to give him a view of RODERIC's transactions, 'till he was reduced by force and stratagem, without the interposition of any other event.

Indeed MORTOGH was so far from being an indolent inactive Prince after he assumed the title of Monarch, that he retained his warlike disposition to the end of his days. Not a province in Ireland, scarce any considerable territory, escaped his visitation with the royal army : and in a continued course of victories, obtained partly by battles and partly by the terror of his name, he subdued them all. Even RODERIC was obliged to make his peace by delivering up four hostages, and accepting his own entire province of Connaught and the one half of Meath ; which he sold to the King of that territory for an hundred ounces of gold. In this manner did MORTOGH become King and Monarch of Ireland, in as ample a manner except the ceremony of election and inauguration, as any of his predecessors since the reign of NIALL the great. But yet he wanted the skill or power, or perhaps only a right conjecture of the times—which in political

MOR-
TO. IV.

affairs is sometimes every thing—to get a law made in favour of his family, and to establish a new race of Hy-niall monarchs by hereditary right. Could he have succeeded in such a plan he certainly would have attempted it; and for want of it the constitution was drawing apace to its dissolution. But the ecclesiastical state of Ireland received a considerable alteration in this Monarch's reign, in a synod which he called at Kells in the county of Meath; of which an account shall be given in its proper place.

The entire sovereign power had not long been vested in MORTOGH, before his own impetuous temper, or the ill advice of his friends, or perhaps both, persuaded him to abuse it. On a slight affront given him by a Prince of the territory of Ulad in the province of Ulster, the Monarch entered his country in a very hostile manner, took many of his vassals prisoners and put them into fetters as slaves: and notwithstanding a peace was made between him and the Prince, on the mediation of the Primate and the King of Orgial, of which they were both the guarantees, and which the Monarch himself took a solemn oath to observe, yet he soon caused the Prince's eyes to be put out, and three of his chiefs to be assassinated. Enraged at a perfidy so notorious and diabolical, the King of Orgial who had been his surety, levied all the troops he could, marched directly to his palace in the county of Tyrone, fought the few tumultuary forces which MORTOGH could collect on such a surprize, defeated, and killed him.

RODERIC
A. D.
1166

The death of this Monarch gave an opportunity to RODERIC, King of Connaught and son of TURLOGH the great, who was the only rival of MORTOGH in the first years of his reign, to assume the sovereignty of the whole island. The power which he had

had in his own province, the interest of his family, the reputation which he had acquired in arms, and above all the conjuncture of the times which produc'd no other rival, made his accession easy and uncontested. The states of the kingdom were assembled by him at Dublin the capital of the Normans, almost the only seat of the little power they had left in Ireland, where he was unanimously elected. But many of those states brought their voices for him thither without bringing their hearts: they gave way to a power which they could not resist: they even contended by a factious species of loyalty, who should be most forward in the support of the new Monarch. Roderic therefore was inaugurated, and his right of sovereignty recognised, with all the solemnities that had been observed towards any of his predecessors; and which from the time of Brian had been difused.

Notwithstanding this promising appearance of unanimity, which the Monarch from his own experience might have reason to suspect, he made a sort of progress, or rather a march, almost round the island at the head of his troops, in the first year of his reign; taking hostages from the several Princes, and making them presents in return. It was not long however before several of them revolted, and laid him under the necessity of chastizing them into submission. The territories of Tyrone under the Hy-niall Princes, were visited by him at the head of a vast army and in conjunction with a numerous fleet; and at the end of four days were glad to buy their peace with a submission and delivering up hostages to secure it. In the same year he held a Parliament or general assembly of the states of the kingdom at Athboy in the county of Meath, such as was usually held at Tara---and it was the last that was ever held under the Milesian monarchs---where besides the peculiar

RODERIC trains of the provincial Kings, the petty Princes and chiefs, and of three Archbishops, thirteen thousand horse, it is said, were counted at it.

About the same time **DERMOD** the King of Leinster, who had long had an intrigue with the wife of **TIGHERNAN O ROURK** the King of Breffny, having had notice from the lady that her husband was going on a pilgrimage to St. **PATRICK**'s purgatory, when it would be easy for him to carry her off by force or stratagem, obeyed her summons with great joy. Many accidents had prevented the accomplishment of their desires hitherto; and in order to prevent any more, in this favourable opportunity of **TIGHERNAN**'s absence, the Queen of Breffny had appointed the time and place of delivering herself up into the arms of her lover. Such a lady, we may be sure, was true to her assignation; and to save appearances of decency to the world, when **DERMOD** caught her in his arms and mounted her behind an officer of a party, of horse which he had brought with him, she cried out for help as if the King of Leinster was carrying her away against her will. When **TIGHERNAN** returned from his pilgrimage, and learnt the story of the violence done to his wife, as it then appeared, he applied to the Monarch for his assistance. **RODERIC** thought the cause of resentment was so just, that he aided the King of Breffny with his authority and with some of his troops. These, together with his own forces, those of Meath and Ossory, and even some in Leinster who revolted, enabled him to march to the place of **DERMOD**'s residence; who being unprepared for such an attack, was obliged to flee his country and even the kingdom; and to this amour, and the revenge taken of it, was entirely owing the dissolution of their monarchy.

The King of Leinster has by many instances
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of impolitic and tyrannical government lost the RODERIC affections of the people; and therefore when he applied to them, on notice of the preparations making against him, to assist him in a distress which his own injustice had brought upon him, their resentment against him was so violent that all his princes and chiefs renounced his authority, and put themselves under the protection of the Monarch. DERMOD being thus obliged to become an exile, or to be delivered up to his enemies, chose the former; and giving a full loose to his passions determined to punish his rebellious nobility at all hazards, though the happiness of his country was to be sacrificed in the attempt. Passing over therefore to Bristol, with about sixty of his friends, and hearing there that the King of England was then in France pursuing his conquests in that country, the King of Leinster repaired thither to implore his aid. HENRY the second, an aspiring and ambitious Monarch, who thought "the whole world was little enough for the dominion of one sovereign," had for some time cast an eye towards Ireland as a desirable acquisition, when he should be at leisure to turn his arms against it. He was not however at present in that conjuncture: and therefore that he might not entirely miss the occasion which this application of DERMOD gave him, he lent a favourable ear to it, encouraged him in his design of attempting to regain his government, and with many promises of assistance when it should be in his power, sent him back to England with letters of recommendation to some of his ministers and great men; in which he gave an authority to the King of Leinster to enlist all such as were willing to enter into his service and to carry them over to Ireland.

With these gracious assurances, and these letters, returned DERMOD to Bristol; where causing them to be

RODERIC be communicated to the chief men of the city, he offered good entertainment and great pay to all such as would go with him; and if they restored him to his crown and province, to settle lands on them for ever. **RICHARD** son of **GILBERT** earl of Pembroke surnamed Strongbow, a young nobleman of equal valour and ambition, hearing of these offers of the King of Leinster, conferred with him on the subject; and on **DERMOD**'s assurance of giving him his daughter **EVA** in marriage together with his whole inheritance and the succession to his province if he recovered it, he entered into an alliance with the Irish Prince, and engaged to repair to him in the spring with a band of chosen men who should restore him to his dominions. No sooner had **DERMOD** contracted this alliance so flattering to his hopes, than he put himself on his return home through Wales. But whilst he was waiting at St. David's head for a fair wind, he heard of a military man of great fame and valour, **ROB. FITZ-STEPHENS**, imprisoned by the Prince of Wales, whom he was desirous to get enlarged and to retain in his service against his rebellious subjects. To this end he made an application, by the Bishop of St. David's and **MAURICE FITZ-GERALD** brother-in-law to the prisoner, to the Prince of Wales; who as well to favour the cause of an exiled King deprived of his dominions, as to rid the country of a troublesome factious man, consented to release him; on condition that he should assist the King of Leinster in the spring attended by his followers, and that **DERMOD** should provide for him in his province, if he proved successful, to the height of his ambition.

This negotiation having succeeded as well as the former, there was nothing left for **DERMOD** to do, but to make use of the time during the winter, in such manner as to avail himself of the aid of the English,

English, when they should land upon his coasts. **RODERIC**
 To this purpose he went over into Ireland in disguise, and confiding in the loyalty of his Monks at Fernes, he repaired thither; where discovering himself to them, they promised to conceal him till his designs could be put in execution. By the aid and intrigues of these religious, his friends and adherents were spirited up and encreased; some forces were privately engaged against the spring; and the winter passed away in forming plans for his restoration. He dispatched **MAURICE REGAN** his secretary into Wales—from whose original fragment the following account is chiefly taken—with an authority to promise in his name, to all such as would serve him, and remain in Ireland, a great recompence of lands of inheritance; and to those that would return, he would give them good entertainment in money or cattle. Whilst these measures were pursuing on the side of **DERMOD** in Ireland, **FITZ-STEPHEN** in Wales and England was not idle. His affairs having been desperate for some time, his followers were much diminished: to all these however he made promises they should share his fortune, which he expected would be considerable; and having finished his preparations, and raised all the forces he was able, in the spring he arrived with them on the borders of the county of Wexford. The number he took with him seemed very unequal to the undertaking; for it consisted of no more than thirty Knights, fifty Gentlemen, and three hundred soldiers: and it is one of those instances which shew the over-ruling hand of Providence in the affairs of states and kingdoms.

Immediately upon their landing, a messenger was sent with the news to the King of Leinster by **FITZ-STEPHEN**, with whom he had held a correspondence; upon which notice was given to all the friends and adherents of **DERMOD** to join him with
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RODERIC the forces they had in readiness in all the haste and privacy that was possible. For with such an handful of auxiliaries, and with the small band that his friends could raise, it was in vain to think of making any other impression than what could be done by surprize. With about five hundred men that followed the fortunes of DERMOD, he marched to join the English, without giving his enemies time to oppose him : and it was resolved in a council of war immediately to make an attempt on the city of Wexford. But no sooner were the troops drawn up before the place, than the inhabitants, being unprepared to make any defence, opened their gates ; and being desirous to preserve the place, and to prevent their houses from being plundered, they sent hostages to their King, as a security for their submission, and for the payment of an annual tribute, which they voluntary engaged in. These conditions were no sooner offered than they were accepted by DERMOD ; who in order to fulfil his promise to FITZ-STEPHEN, and to obtain further assistance from him, gave him the tribute, and the duties arising from the town of Wexford, with two cantreds of land adjoining.

This affair having been adjusted, and more forces arriving to the aid of the King of Leinster, on the news of this success, he thought himself in a condition to attack the King of Ossory, who had been of the number of his enemies, and whom he was therefore desirous to chastise. But when they were entered into the country, he found that this King had prepared for his defence ; by throwing up deep and large entrenchments, with hedges at the top, manned with five thousand men. Nevertheless, the troops of DERMOD assailed them, and a bloody contest ensued, which lasted from morning till night : at last, by the valour of the English, the trenches were forced, and the army of Ossory routed,

routed, though not without a considerable slaughter of the enemy. The King of Leinster, who knew the country, being apprehensive of a defile through which his forces were to pass upon their retreat, informed the English Generals of the danger, and put himself, for the security of his person, among their troops; who did not mingle with the Irish. When they came to the defile, the vanguard was attacked with great fury, and were obliged to fall a little back; but after an obstinate fight of three hours, and a manœuvre suggested by MAURICE PRENDERGAST, one of the English Generals, the Ossorians were beaten with a great loss in killed and wounded. Having rested and refreshed his army, and made incursions into some neighbouring territories for the sake of plunder, DERMOD made a proposal to invade Ossory again, and utterly to destroy the King of that Country, against whom he bore a mortal hatred. The proposal was no sooner made than executed; and though the King of Ossory had thrown up entrenchments as before, which held the enemy at bay for three days, they were at last forced by the English, and the troops of the country were put to flight. This sudden and unexpected success of the King of Leinster, and the military renown of his English subsidies—all which we may be sure was greatly magnified, as it is usual in such cases—had by this time spread over the island, and alarmed the inhabitants. The Monarch convened an assembly of the States; in which it was resolved, that every province should furnish a proportionable number of troops to be added to the royal army; in order to enable the King of Ireland to quell this insurrection in its infancy, to confine DERMOD within his territories, and to drive the English out of the kingdom.

This resolution having been executed with all imaginable dispatch, RODERIC the Monarch march-
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RODERIC ed at the head of a great army, directly to the quarters of the King of Leinster, intending immediately to give him battle. In some manuscript annals---called the Annals of DUDLY LOFTUS---which I copied at St. Sepulchre's Library, it is said, that **RODERIC**, by a public proclamation, declared **DERMOD** deprived of all his possessions, titles, honours, prerogatives, and regalities, pronouncing the same confiscated, and all his goods and confederates proscribed : but that **DERMOD** soon after left Dublin, and met the King of Ireland in the county of Córke, where he gave him his own desire in pledges, and gave to **O ROURK** in lieu of his wife, twenty-five nobles in gold." The other historians tell us, that the King of Leinster not being able to face the royal army, withdrew with his forces into the woods and fastnesses near Ferns, which they were well acquainted with ; that the Monarch summoned **FITZ-STEPHEN** to leave the kingdom, and take all his foreigners with him ; that on his refusal, **RODERIC** divided his army into small bodies, in order to enter the woods and drive them out, or to put all they met with to the sword ; that the Clergy interposed, and by their mediation, a treaty of peace was made with the King of Leinster ; in which it was stipulated that he should be restored to the government of his province in as full extent as any of his predecessors had enjoyed, and that he should give hostages of the first quality to the Monarch, to secure the kingdom from further troubles, and from his protection and assistance to any foreigners. These conditions being accepted, we are told, that **DERMOD** delivered up to the Monarch, his natural son and six other hostages ; and for the injury done to **O ROURK**, by taking away his wife, that he paid an hundred ounces of gold.

Whether any measures were taken with his auxiliary

auxiliary English troops, in order to compell them **RODERIC** to quit the island, or whether the Monarch was satisfied with the King of Leinster's engagement to withdraw his protection from them, no historian hath informed us. It is certain, however, I believe, that they did not leave the kingdom: and in whatever way this treaty of peace was made, the hopes of tranquillity from it were soon blasted. For in a short time after, **MAURICE FITZ-GERALD** above-mentioned, accompanied with ten Knights, thirty Gentlemen, and an hundred soldiers, arrived at Wexford; and notifying his arrival to his brother-in-law, who was then erecting a port within two miles of that place, they concerted the design of establishing themselves in Ireland, and of prevailing on the King of Leinster to break the treaty of peace. Very little pains were necessary to induce **DERMOD** to act a part so dishonourable and perfidious; and yet he was restored by it to the same condition in which he was before the war; and the same that any King of Leinster had ever enjoyed. But a spirit of ambition is not to be restrained by reasonable considerations, if there is no higher principle to controul it. He had smarted under the severity of being driven from his dominions and his native country, as an exile, of being obliged to implore the assistance of a foreign Prince, and even of soldiers of fortune to reinstate him. This had been effected when his enemies were greatly superior to him in the field; and the condescension which was shewn him in compassion to his subjects and his country, might be interpreted perhaps into fear of his English subsidies.

As soon, however, as **DERMOD** could get his army again together, regardless of the hostages he had given, regardless of his country, and of every social, every sacred tie, without any pretence for making war, and without any declaration of it, he
marched

RODERIC marched with his new General, and all his troops into Fingall, which he destroyed with fire and sword. These hostilities alarming the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, they resolved to make their peace with the King of Leinster at any rate, that they might save themselves from being plundered. To this purpose they sent many rich presents into his camp, and a promise by their hostages to submit to any tribute he should think fit to impose. With this course of success, and his arms increasing by the reputation of it, the ambition of DERMOD became more violent and licentious. He would at first have compounded gladly for the restoration of his government, and all his former honours and privileges, of which the Monarch had deprived him : and to be sure, when he solicited the aid of the King of England and his generals, he meant nothing more. But this point having been gained, and there being nothing left for him to fear, but much to hope for, he was determined to push his conquests, as far as they could be carried, if it were to the throne itself. This ambition was greatly flattered by the reflexion, that many of his own ancestors had worn the crown of Ireland : and therefore he thought he had nothing more to do than to procure further assistance from England, and the approbation of his two generals, in order to possess himself of the monarchy.

Full of this design, he consulted the English Generals ; and that he might secure their zeal in serving it, he offered his daughter in marriage to either of them that would accept her : but as they knew of his contract with the Earl of PEMBROKE, they both refused his offer, and contented themselves with the prospect of such establishments in the kingdom, as it should be in his power, if they helped to lift him into the throne, to confer upon them. It does not appear that either of these

Englishmen

Englishmen refused the Princess on a point of honour, but through motives of policy and discretion. They were sensible that the King of Leinster could never accomplish the design which he had in hand, with his own troops and theirs ; and therefore, without further assistance, instead of raising him to the throne, and procuring a noble settlement for themselves, the attempt would probably end in the destruction of them all. The King of England, as glad as he might be to fish in these troubled waters, was too much embroiled with his affairs in France at that time to think of any other ; and there was no resource left but in the Earl of PEMBROKE ; with whom DERMOD had already contracted to give his daughter in marriage, and to make him heir of his dominions, in consideration of the Earl's assistance to restore him to his province. It was therefore the two Generals advice not to let his design transpire till he was in a capacity to put it into execution ; and in order to this end, that he should write a letter to the Earl, informing him of the great success he had already met with, and of his further hopes. In short they advised the King of Leinster to be very open and explicit with STRONGBOW, who had very powerful interest in his country, and was himself a leader of consummate conduct and experience ; upon whom all his expectations of the monarchy must depend, and to whom his offers of reward could not be too considerable.

A letter, in consequence of this advice, was dispatched by DERMOD to the Earl ; assuring him of the performance of his former promise with regard to his daughter, and the inheritance of his states in Leinster, if his Lordship would bring him a sufficient force to set the crown of Ireland upon his head. Having made some preparations towards fulfilling his engagement with the King of Leinster, the Earl, on receiving this letter, applied to HENRY for his

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RODERIC permission to leave the kingdom, together with his friends and followers, and to try their fortunes in Ireland. The King, being unwilling to irritate such a Nobleman with a denial, or to permit him to conquer for another Monarch, a country which he intended to conquer for himself, gave no positive answer to the application. The Earl interpreting this duplicity, which he did not understand, into a token of the King's consent, bestirred himself with great vigour, in making every thing ready for his Irish expedition. Whilst these preparations were making, he sent an answer to **DERMOD**, by two of his chief officers, **REYMOND DE LA GROSE** and **WIL. FITZGERALD**, brother of **MAURICE** above-mentioned, in order not only to signify his intention of accepting the King's offer, but also to be well assured of a prospect of success from their information. These officers carried with them a small train of chosen well disciplined troops, not amounting to fourscore, with which they landed about five miles from Waterford. But not knowing how to bestow themselves till they had notified their arrival to the King of Leinster, and received his directions how to proceed, they threw up a small fort in haste, as strong as they could make it with fods and stones, to defend themselves from any insults of the inhabitants in the country adjoining to it. When the inhabitants perceived that the English were settling in their neighbourhood, a consultation was held among them, how to guard against the danger of so near an enemy; and it was resolved to attack the fort before it was perfected, and before the enemy had received any reinforcement.

The resolution, it must be owned, was not a bad one, had it been executed in the manner which such a resolution required, But tho' haste was one necessary circumstance in the execution, yet it was
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not the only one ; and the inhabitants failed in this attempt through want of attention to any other. RODERIC
 Instead of procuring a sufficient number of veteran troops to oppose to these experienced warriors, they contented themselves with picking up two hundred such men as they could instantly get together [a], and with these to attack the English in their fort. DE LA GROSE perceiving this body of men advancing towards them, was on his side guilty of an indiscretion, in leading his men out of the fort to charge a superior number. But perhaps he held them in contempt, from the disorderly manner in which they marched. They received the charge however with so good a countenance, and returned it with so much vigour, as convinced him of his mistake ; and he was not in so much haste to attack them, as he was now to regain the fort. But the Irish pursued and charged his rear so hotly, that, finding it impossible to regain it, he was obliged to face about : and being made desperate by their situation, they fought with such irresistible and astonishing fury, as obliged the Irish to give way, and seek their safety in their flight.

In a short time after, the Earl of PEMBROKE—A. D. known more commonly by the name of Strongbow—with two hundred Knights, and a thousand Gentlemen, armed with cross-bows, landed at Waterford, without the city [b]. As soon as the King of Leinster had notice of their arrival, he marched with great joy at the head of his English auxiliaries,

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[a] REGAN says, three or four thousand, which is incredible ; because he adds, a thousand were slain, and seventy taken prisoners, whom REDMOND caused to be beheaded ; and yet owns that the English did not exceed an hundred.

[b] REGAN calls them 15 or 1600 ; and says, that they besieged and took the town before they sent to DERMOD.

RODERIC auxiliaries, to pay his compliments to the Earl, and to settle the plan of their operations. After the usual ceremonies had passed between them, a general council of war was called; in which it was determined to lose no time in coming to action; and as they were incamped under the walls of Waterford, that the siege of that place should be immediately undertaken. The next day, the army sat down before it in form; and though the inhabitants made as good a defence as an ungarrisoned town without cannon might be expected to do, yet they were so vigorously pressed by the English, that they soon took it by storm. In the first fury of the soldiers, they destroyed all they met with, and gave no quarter: but this was soon restrained by their commander, and they were content with plunder.

When **DERMOD** found himself in quiet possession of this town, by the aid of **STRONGBOW**, which he thought an omen of good success, he sent for his daughter and married her to the Earl, according to his contract, with all the solemnity that the place and the confusion of the time admitted of. The nuptial rites having been performed, the army marched towards Dublin, in order to secure themselves of the capital of the kingdom, as well as to possess themselves of the richest booty. The inhabitants, it is true, had bought their peace the year before, and had done nothing since to break the treaty; but this, with a Prince of **DERMOD**'s perfidious temper, possessed of power, was a point of no signification. The citizens of Dublin were now at his mercy, and he was resolved that they should feel the rod of his resentment for past offences; which, notwithstanding the peace he had made when he could do nothing better, he had not forgiven. In order to give a check to this insulting enterprize, and prevent further mischief, the Monarch made a shew of

of opposing the allied army in their march: but **RODERIC** they observed so much discipline and regularity, that it was thought adviseable not to attack them: and **RODERIC** disbanded his army, and returned to his own country.

As soon as **DERMOD** had invested Dublin, the inhabitants of which were thrown into the utmost consternation, he sent **M. REGAN** to summon them to surrender the city, and to demand thirty hostages for their performance of the articles he should insist on. The Danish governor, being unwilling to abide the issue of a siege, assented to the demand; but the citizens not agreeing about the hostages, **MILES COGAN** one of the Generals of the English, who was posted on the other side the town, and knew nothing of the capitulation, had made such a breach in the walls that his men entered the town, and made themselves masters of it, before **DERMOD** and the King knew any thing of the matter. They entered the city the same day, and found a great quantity of provisions as well as valuable plunder of all sorts.

According to an observation which seems to be well founded, that the man who injures another never forgives him, **DERMOD** having carried off the wife of **O ROURK** the King of Breffny, as we have seen, now led the troops into his territory and destroyed it with fire and sword. **RODERIC** the King of Ireland, and all the other Princes and chiefs, were by this time alarmed at the success of the King of Leinster and his English subsidies; and the reader perhaps may be of opinion, that they should have taken the alarm a little sooner. Even now before the Monarch would take the field against him, he sent an officer to **DERMOD** to expostulate with him on his perfidy, and to assure him that if he did not return immediately within the terms of his treaty, **RODERIC** would send him his son's head,

RODERIC head, lay him under a public interdict, and again oblige him to leave the kingdom. But the Monarch should have considered, that the situation of the King of Leinster was become very different: all the forces of the island, and even the nobles and chiefs of his own province, for the most part, then took the side against him, and he had only an inconsiderable party to oppose to them: whereas now he had beside the English, which were most of them above the rank of common men, a good body of Irish who had attached themselves to him on his late successes and his foreign aid, which gave them a prospect of his triumphing over all his enemies.

It is not therefore to be wondered at, that a man of **DERMOD**'s cast of mind, when he found his affairs in so prosperous a condition, should reject the Monarch's proposal with contempt and insolence: it is rather to be wondered at, that **RODERIC** should have given him leisure and opportunity to strengthen himself in this manner; and that at the late peace he had concluded with him, his English subsidies should have been permitted to remain in the island. Without knowing more of the circumstances than are transmitted down, one can resolve this negligence and inattention into nothing but the destination of their final overthrow at this period. The King of Leinster, whose ambition was now in a fair way to be gratified, returned an answer to **RODERIC** by retorting his threat upon him; that instead of dismissing the English, he would send into their country for a reinforcement; that he would not lay down his arms 'till he had reduced the whole island under his own authority; and that if the Monarch struck off his son's head or made any of his hostages suffer, he would revenge it by hostilities yet unheard of, which should end in the destruction of **RODERIC** and all his race.

As much astonished and incensed as **RODERIC** RODERIC was at this answer, yet upon mature deliberation he desisted from his purpose of executing the hostage, as not knowing the turn which the fortune of war might take. Indeed the fame of the English Generals, and the execution done by the Cross-bows, which were an instrument of war unknown to the Irish, had struck such a terror over the island, that the authority of the Monarch, as well as the liberties of his country, began very much to decline. The time was now approaching, when the spirit of discord and contention, which had prevailed through many ages without a cure, was now, on a private quarrel, and on an invasion of foreigners with a force scarce sufficient to take a single town, to annihilate their monarchy; a monarchy which amidst much greater dissensions, and invasions vastly more irresistible, had supported itself above two thousand years. But the man, whose ill desert had banished him from his country, whose revenge had invited foreigners to his aid, ~~and~~ whose ambition after the monarchy had occasioned its dissolution, was not permitted to possess it, nor to see the glory of his country perish in the flames which he had kindled by his ungoverned passions. For in the midst of his successes, when the throne was almost within his reach, and he thought himself sure of all that his heart could wish for, death took him out of the world and laid him low in the dust. Thus ended the wild ambition of **DERMOD** King of Leinster; leaving a memorable example of the folly of human vanity.

The Earl of **PEMBROKE** immediately assumed the government of the province, as well as the inheritance of his estate, in right of his daughter **EVA**, whom the Earl had married, or rather perhaps to speak more truly, by virtue of the army that

RODERIC was so formidable, of which he was now commander in chief. Taking advantage therefore of the terror which he saw his arms had spread all over Ireland, he marched immediately to Dublin to get his right recognised in that capital of his province and of the kingdom. But **RODERIC** perceiving that none of the Irish chiefs adhered to the Earl of **PEMBROKE** after the death of **DERMOD**, except one of his natural sons and two petty princes, thought at last of doing what he should have done long before, of driving the English out of the island. To this purpose he levied a great army—if **REGAN** is to be credited, to the number of sixty thousand—with a design to besiege Dublin. Other writers attribute this patriotic zeal to **LAWRENCE** its Archbishop, who took infinite pains, they say, to cement an union between the Princes of Ireland, and to animate them to this attempt in favour of their country. This great armament could not be made without the knowledge of the Earl; and he was not backward in preparing every thing in his power necessary for his defence: he sent for a reinforcement from their garrison towns, and he made large promises to such of the Irish as would list under his banner. **FITZ-STEPHEN**, governor of Wexford, having detached a party to the Earl's assistance, the inhabitants thought this a good opportunity to revenge themselves of this oppressive Englishman; and with the slaughter of several of his men, they took him and five of his officers prisoners.

The city of Dublin being environed with the Irish forces by land and sea, and the besieged being not provided either with ammunition, men, or provision in a sufficient quantity for any long defence, the Earl called a council of war of his principal officers; and representing to them the great force of the enemy and their own distress, proposed to offer terms of capitulation to the Monarch by
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by the Archbishop, to submit and hold Leinster as RODERIC a feudatory Prince under RODERIC, if he would raise the siege and march off with his army. The Earl's proposal was assented to, and the Archbishop was employed to treat with the Monarch on these terms : but the Irish imagined that they had got them all within their net, and they had nothing to do but to draw it over them. The Monarch's answer therefore was, that unless the Earl of PEMBROKE would surrender to him the cities of Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford, with all his forts and castles, and on a day agreed upon abandon the island with all the English, he would instantly make the assault and take the place by storm. When the Archbishop reported these terms to the council of war, they who had so lately been the conquerors and carried all before them, became confounded and depressed : they were loth to submit to terms so ignominious, and yet they saw no relief without them. But M. COGAN perceiving the impression which this answer was likely to make, with great spirit said, " we are a considerable number of good men ; our best remedy is to make a sally which is least suspected by the enemy ; and I hope in the goodness of God that we shall have the victory, or at least die with honour : and my desire is that I may be the first man appointed to give upon their quarter."

This noble resolution and intrepidity being applauded by the whole council—for as the pannick of one man is catching, so the valour of one will often inspire others with it—the Generals were directed to draw up their men with all possible expedition. The command of the van-guard was assigned to COGAN as he had desired, the center to R. DE LA GROSE, and the rear to the Earl of PEMBROKE, each body consisting only of two hundred : for the Irish, of whose valour and fidelity they had no opinion,

RODERIC opinion, were left behind in the garrison. In this enterprize full of peril, they directed their march, says REGAN, to the enemies camp: but if the enemies camp consisted, as he said before, of sixty thousand men, it was not only full of peril, but full of absurdity also surely for six hundred men to attack it; even if the enemy were careless and secure and expected no such thing. Indeed it appears to me so very absurd and romantic as not to be credited: and the incredibility is confirmed in what follows of their success, that they broke furiously into their camp, and made such a slaughter as all fled before them; which slaughter is expressly said to be one hundred and fifty of the Irish, and one man only on the side of the English. Some mistake of the number must have happened by the transcriber or the printer: and even to make an attempt upon a camp of six thousand with six hundred only, though their desperate situation might have prompted them to it, could scarcely have been made, one would think with such success, as to oblige them to abandon it with all their baggage and provision and to raise the siege, when they had lost only an hundred and fifty men. But this is the account which is given by REGAN.

The city of Dublin being thus delivered from the danger it had been in, the Earl left it under the care of COGAN, and marched towards Wexford to release his friend FITZ-STEPHEN, and the officers taken prisoners with him. But the inhabitants being apprized of his approach, set the town on fire, as soon as they had taken out the prisoners and best effects, and removed to an island in its neighbourhood where they knew themselves to be safe; by which the intention of the Earl was frustrated in that particular. In his march he was attacked by

by O RYAN, the chief of a territory through which he passed; and the fortune of the day seemed, against him 'till O RYAN was killed by a Monk in the Earl's army; at whose fall the Irish were disconcerted and retreated from the field of battle. Here the English writers inform us that the only son of STRONGBOW, a youth of seventeen years of age, being greatly terrified with the number and the noise of the Irish, fled towards Dublin; but hearing of his father's victory he returned to congratulate his success: and if the Earl caused him to be immediately executed for his cowardice by cutting him in two with a sword, as these writers say, it equalled any thing that is to be met with among the most savage barbarous Irish in their pagan ignorance.

When the news of these extraordinary successes of the English Generals was brought over hither, HENRY, who never dreamed of their being able to effect any thing more than a diversion in favour of the King of Leinster, became alarmed and jealous. He had imagined that they would be able only to execute the revenge of DERMOD on the petty Princes of his province; and that when they should attempt any thing further upon that success, they would be obliged to him for his assistance: this application would furnish him with a pretence of going over to Ireland himself, and pursuing the design which he had for some time had in his thoughts of making a conquest of that island.

But when he found that DERMOD was dead, that the Irish made little or no resistance, that STRONGBOW had seized upon the province of Leinster, and that he and the other Generals were daily getting ground, he began to suspect that they would make themselves masters of the island which he had intended for himself. Possessed of this fear, he published a proclamation, "that no ship or vessel should

RODERIC go to any part of Ireland with ammunition or provision, or to carry on any commerce of any kind ; and at the same time, requiring all his subjects in that kingdom, of whatever rank or degree, to return home immediately, upon the penalty of forfeiting all their estates and effects in England, and of being declared rebels and traitors." This proclamation, which was issued under a pretence that the adventurers had engaged in the undertaken without his permission, had all the effect which he expected from it. For though the Generals did not choose to throw up a game which was in their hands, and from which they might reap advantages far greater than those they had to look for here, yet they were afraid of exasperating the King ; who, they knew, had it in his power, and would not want the will, effectually to crush them. They immediately therefore sent DE LA GROSE over to make their submission to his Majesty, and to acquaint him that they were so far from having any intention of withdrawing their allegiance from him, that all the conquests they made were made in his name, and should all be subject to his authority. But this submission did not content the King. DE LA GROSE was sent back with letters to the Earl of PEMBROKE, requiring him to repair to England without any delay, and to give an account of his conduct in person to his Majesty. As much as this absence must retard the progress of his arms in Ireland, the Earl durst not disobey the summons. When he came into the King's presence, he pleaded his permission to espouse the cause of DERMOT : and after giving him a full account of the situation of affairs in Ireland, he offered to deliver up to HENRY the possession of Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, and all the sea ports and other places they had conquered, and to hold nothing for themselves but on the condition of
doing

doing homage to the King and his successors for **RODERIC** ever. **HENRY** approving these conditions, sent the Earl back into Ireland: with an assurance of following him soon with a large army that should compleat the conquest of that kingdom. Indeed the conquest of it was then become so very easy, through the circumstances already mentioned, and a surprising reverse of temper in the Irish Princes, that it did not require the forces which he carried with him the next October, and landed at Waterford from four hundred ships, to receive the homage and submission of all the Kings in the island; and who seemed to strive in emulation of each other who should be the first to pay their duty to him. Thus without striking a blow, or spilling a drop of blood, **HENRY** the second annexed a kingdom to the crown of England, which had existed under a monarchy two thousand years, and that had been possessed by a race of Kings as valiant and high spirited as had been ever known throughout the world. Such were the fatal effects of the abuse of liberty by the licentiousness of faction: and as the same, or nearly the same effects will always follow from the same causes, so the history of this people is a monument of instruction to every state that is yet free; very powerfully illustrating the truth of that assertion, if it could be doubted of, "that a kingdom divided against itself cannot stand."

A. D.
1171.

Having brought down the account of the civil or political transactions of Ireland to this period, I must now give the reader a view of the state of religion and learning in it, from the beginning of the eleventh century to the dissolution of their monarchy. It hath been already mentioned, that in the reign of **MORTOGH** the third, called **MORTOGH O BRIAN**, three national synods, or as some writers think, one synod,

continued

continued by several prorogations, were summoned by this Prince: the particulars of which must now be given. In the first of these assemblies, which consisted of the Monarch and all the Princes and clergy of his southern half of the kingdom, it is only said, that many wholesome laws and regulations were established both for the church and state. In the second, which appears to have been a convocation of the clergy only, at which the bishop of Limerick the Pope's legate presided, it was agreed that there should be twelve episcopal Sees in the southern half, the same number in the northern, and two in the county of Meath. In this ecclesiastical division, the See of Dublin is not mentioned; because its inhabitants being generally the descendents of the Danes or Normans, their Bishop at that time received his consecration at the hands of his countryman the Archbishop of Canterbury. The See of Waterford was erected at the desire of this synod; the members of which subscribed an epistle to ANSELM Archbishop of Canterbury, informing him "that it was convenient to erect Waterford into a bishoprick, for which"—being another settlement of the Danes and their descendents—"they had elected and sent MALCHUS to him, in regard to the primacy he had over them to be consecrated;" which was done accordingly. I have not thought it convenient, nor of importance enough, to clog this history with an account of the names, successions, and deaths of the Irish Bishops: and whoever has a curiosity for such sort of reading, may indulge it by looking into WARE's account of them enlarged by HARRIS into a folio: a proof of the great industry, but not of the judgment of those writers. In the third synod or convocation, at which it is said that twenty-five Bishops assisted, the boundaries of the several dioceses were determined and specified; as
a sanction

a sanction to which, they leave their own and God's blessing upon all the succeeding Bishops who should support the regulations ordained in that synod, and dreadful imprecations on those who should presume to violate them. The only reflection which I shall make upon these synods is, that we have never before heard of a Pope's legate in Ireland, and that we should not probably have heard of it now, if DONOGH the son of BRIAN had not carried the crown of Ireland to Rome, and as far as lay in his power—which God knows was none at all—made a present of the sovereignty of the island to his Holiness. As insignificant and ridiculous as this donation was, it served the Popes for a pretence to claim an authority and a jurisdiction; not only in this instance of sending a legate and regulating the episcopal Sees, but also of making over the sovereignty to the King of England.

In the reign of MORTOGH the fourth, surnamed O Lachlin, the ecclesiastical state of Ireland received a considerable alteration in a synod which he called at Kells; with a view, it is said, to consult measures for the better propagation of the Christian Faith, for the more effectual edification of the people, and for appointing two more Archbishops. From the first establishment of Christianity in that island there had been till this time but two Archbishops, at Ardmagh, and Cashell; and these had been consecrated by St. PATRICK. But they do not appear from any testimony, manuscript or printed, to have had any authority primatial or metropolitanical; and were Archbishops only in name. It is very certain however, that all the authority they were clothed with, they had assumed themselves, or was given them by the church; and that none of them 'till now had received the pall from Rome. How early the Popes took up the usage

of
*of Patrick's time - from the year
 of the year 432 - the year of the
 of the year 432 - the year of the*

of sending a pall in imitation of the Emperors is uncertain : but the earliest account to be relied on, is in the epistles of GREGORY the great, where it is plain that giving the pall, was intended only as a mark of honour and respect, not to make a Prelate an Archbishop, or to erect a metropolitical jurisdiction, but as an honorary recognition of the character he was possessed of. The necessity of the pall therefore had not been heard of to this day, if his successors had not improved upon his plan, and learned in after ages to make use of it as an artifice to encrease their wealth and power. But this is further explained in the introduction ; to which the reader is referred.

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1152.

When the Popes had once begun to assert a jurisdiction over the Irish nation, we may be sure they would never fail to find occasions of using it. Thus as the palls had never yet been sent to their Archbishops, this was a good opportunity for the court of Rome to make the Irish church dependant upon it : and to add to the splendour of the ceremony, as well as to exert their authority still more, it was determined to establish two other Archbishopricks, and to send Cardinal PAPIRON with the four palls. Accordingly in the synod above-mentioned, the Sees of Dublin and Tuam were erected into Archbishopricks, Ardmagh was constituted the primacy, the four palls were delivered with the usual ceremonies, and some canons passed about the payment of tithes by divine right, and against incontinence, prophaneness, and other vices. These are all the regulations that I find made in this period relating to religion : and these being made so late as the middle of the 12th century, we may learn, that till then the church of Ireland had been free and independant, and owned no other subjection to the See of Rome than what was founded on gratitude and civility ; and consistent with the power which the

the canons of the first general councils allowed A. D. to every national church in christendom. Three 1152. other synods were held by the primate and clergy after this, for the reformation of discipline and manners, but nothing was transacted in them material enough to be taken notice of in this work, except in the last held at Ardmagh in the year eleven hundred and seventy: The intention of calling this synod, was, to enquire into the cause of the arrival of strangers from England into their country to invade it: and the result of their deliberations ended in this opinion, that the sins of the people had subjected them to the vengeance of Heaven, especially the practice of buying English children and making them slaves. CAMBRENSIS, Bishop of S. Davids who gives this account, adds, "that the English by a common vice of their country, had a custom to sell their children and kinsfolks into Ireland, although they were neither in want nor extreme poverty." The English reader, after this, must never charge the Irish of that age with being rude and barbarous; because he will be bid to look at home.

Notwithstanding all the dissensions which followed the death of BRIAN, a great number of monasteries were built and endowed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; in order to repair the waste made upon those religious houses by the ravages of the Danes, and their own intestine subsequent broils. In these the clergy were not interested, except as mediators, frequently to heal the breaches made by a spirit of ambition, agitated, if not raised by faction. The clergy were therefore at full liberty to solicit the aid of the Princes and Prelates towards re-establishing these schools of learning and religion, by which they might reform the ignorance and barbarism which had crept in among the people. We find in the same period also, that with this ignorance,

A. D. 1152. superstition as usual had made its way: and several of their Princes, when they had done all the mischief they could do to their country at the head of faction, as they advanced in years, and grew weary of the toils of war, retired into cells to end their days in a monastic habit and devotion, as an attonement that would set every thing right at last. But this is no reproach to the religion of those times in Ireland. The same superstition, though in a different mode, hath prevailed in all ages and nations: and whilst mankind continue corrupted by their own inventions, the means will still be used for the end, and the shadow take place of the substance of religion.

The reader will find there was great occasion for the restitution of schools of learning and religion in those disastrous times, when the face of the Irish Church was so deformed, "that all ecclesiastical discipline, and the canons of the church, were trodden under foot, the sacraments neglected as of no use, and the metropolitan See of Armagh itself, sometimes made a mere lay fee, or temporal inheritance, but possessed hereditarily by the power of one family for fifteen generations." But yet, during the times of these unordained Archbishops, there were others, who were only reckoned suffragans or coadjutors to the intruders, who performed all the episcopal duties. Amidst the continual contentions for the monarchy, on the death of MALACHY, it was impossible that learning or religion should keep its ground. The out lines might be preserved in the monasteries and abbeys, where the clergy were unmolested, but little more could be looked for, when their country was universally involved in such distractions. Few writers therefore of any name are to be found in this turbulent period. MARIANUS SCOTUS, a chronologer of the first rank, was born in the beginning of the 11th century, and wrote an universal

versal chronicle of his time. He retired from the world about the middle of it, and exchanged the air of Ireland for that of Germany; where he shut himself up in a convent at Cologne, afterwards at Fulda, and ended his days at Mentz. He wrote, besides the Chronicle above mentioned, the Harmony of the Evangelists, Amendments to DIONYSIUS, of the great Paschal Cycle, Annotations on the Scriptures, Commentaries on the Psalms, a Notitia of both empires, and some other Tracts. Besides him, we find only TIGERNACH, who wrote the Annals of Ulster, in the eleventh century, and MELISSA of Munster, the author of some philosophical works that have transmitted his name down to posterity.

The writers in the twelfth century, before the conquest, are more considerable; GILBERT Bishop of Limerick, and the Pope's Legate in the synod mentioned in the reign of MORTOCH O BRIAN, wrote some epistles, and a book of the State of the Church; published by USHER. But the most celebrated man of this time, and almost the only one who deserves particular notice, was MALACHY O MORCAR, Archbishop of Ardmagh, who wrote many Epistles to BERNARD, a book of general Constitutions, of the Laws of Celibacy, of Traditions, the Life of CUTHBERT, an Epistle to DAVID King of the Scots, and a Prophecy of the Popes of Rome. He built a stone oratory at Bangor in Ireland, like what he had seen in other countries, which is said to be the first of the sort erected in that kingdom; which can only be meant of an oratory, if that is true which is mentioned in the office of S. KENAN, extant in manuscript in the public library at Cambridge, "that he built a church of stone in the country of Tyrone, in the infancy of Christianity;" but this is doubted; and the first building of stone in Ireland is thought to be that of MALACHY above-mentioned; not-

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withstanding the plausible explanation of that passage by Mr. HARRIS, mentioned in the Introduction. Were I to relate all the endowments, the virtues, the labours, and the miracles, said to be wrought by that wonderful man, who was born of noble parents, in the province of Ulster, and died in the middle of the twelfth century, I must transcribe his life, written by BERNARD, his contemporary and intimate friend; a life so far above human nature, that, unless we will suppose he was all along divinely illuminated and supported, as he must be if he worked the miracles there recorded, it is impossible for a man of sense to give any credit to. In short, he was another S. PATRICK; and it must be said, perhaps, with truth, that this Apostle of the Irish, had all the zeal, the piety, the heavenly-mindedness and assiduity of the first.

There being no more men of eminence or learning in Ireland to be recorded before that country became appendant to the crown of England, we are now arrived at the end of the enlightened age and of their ancient history; which puts a period to this volume: and if the reader should be of opinion, that I have given only a dry imperfect account of that free and warlike people, he is desired to consider the early times it treats of, and the very scanty and defective materials—even supposing them to be good—which remain after a desolation scarce to be paralleled in any nation under the sun. There is matter enough however, I persuade myself, from which a sensible and a good man may draw entertainment and instruction: and in ages of barbarism and ignorance, and in a country secluded from all the rest of the world, the wonder is, not that better matter should not be given, but that better matter should be expected.

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TURGESIUS, a King, or son of a King of Norway, made a formidable descent with a vast fleet—a man of courage yet brutal—united all the Danes under him—divided his army and fleet into different bodies—drove the primate and his clergy from Ardmagh—settled himself in the palace II. 88-9—collected all his forces against some Norman invaders, who plundered the country of Dublin—engaged, defeated, and drove them away 93-4—proclaimed Monarch by the Danes—notified this to his friends in Norway, and desired a reinforcement—is gratified with a great one—overturned

turned all the laws and liberties of the Irish—exercised all sorts of cruelties—new modelled the state—drove—the students and clergy at Ardmagh away—put a Danish lay Abbot into every monastery 98-102—his tyranny roused the Irish—visited the Monarch MALACHY—liked his daughter, and demanded her for his pleasure—acquiesced in the Monarch's proposal, who deceived him—ensnared and put to death 104-9

TURLOGH, set up for the Monarchy in opposition to DONOGH II. 229—his power superior—devasted Munster, and received hostages for their loyalty 231—drove DONOGH out of the island—assumed the sovereign power over the whole island—quelled an insurrection headed by DONOGH's son—chased him into Conaught—ravaged that province, and made a treaty of peace with that King 232—never used his power against his own subjects after the death of DONOGH, imitated the example of his grandfather Brian—is much honoured in a letter from Archbishop LANFRANK—worthy of his descent and the monarchy—granted the request of King WILLIAM Rufus in sending over Irish oak for the roof of Westminster-hall—reigned twenty two years—his death and character 233-4-5

TURLOGH the Great, extremely troublesome to the two Monarchs II. 239—disputed the authority of the survivor—is King of Conaught—owned as Monarch by the greatest part of the nation 240—invaded the province of Munster and is defeated with great slaughter—invaded it a second time and reduced it under his obedience—appointed governors over it 241—defeated the opposition every where against him—invaded Munster a third time—engaged the army of it in battle and defeated them 242—chastised DERMOD, the King of Leinster—made his son King of Meath and Dublin—destroyed Tirconnell and Tyrone—his glory much obscured—obliged to give hostages for his security to keep the peace—died a natural death—made a religious exit 243—account of his administration—left all his effects to the clergy 244

TURLOGH O BRIAN engaged the Monarch—defeated and banished II. 243

Tyrone its territory ravaged by the King of Conaught, and its coast by his fleet II. 244-7